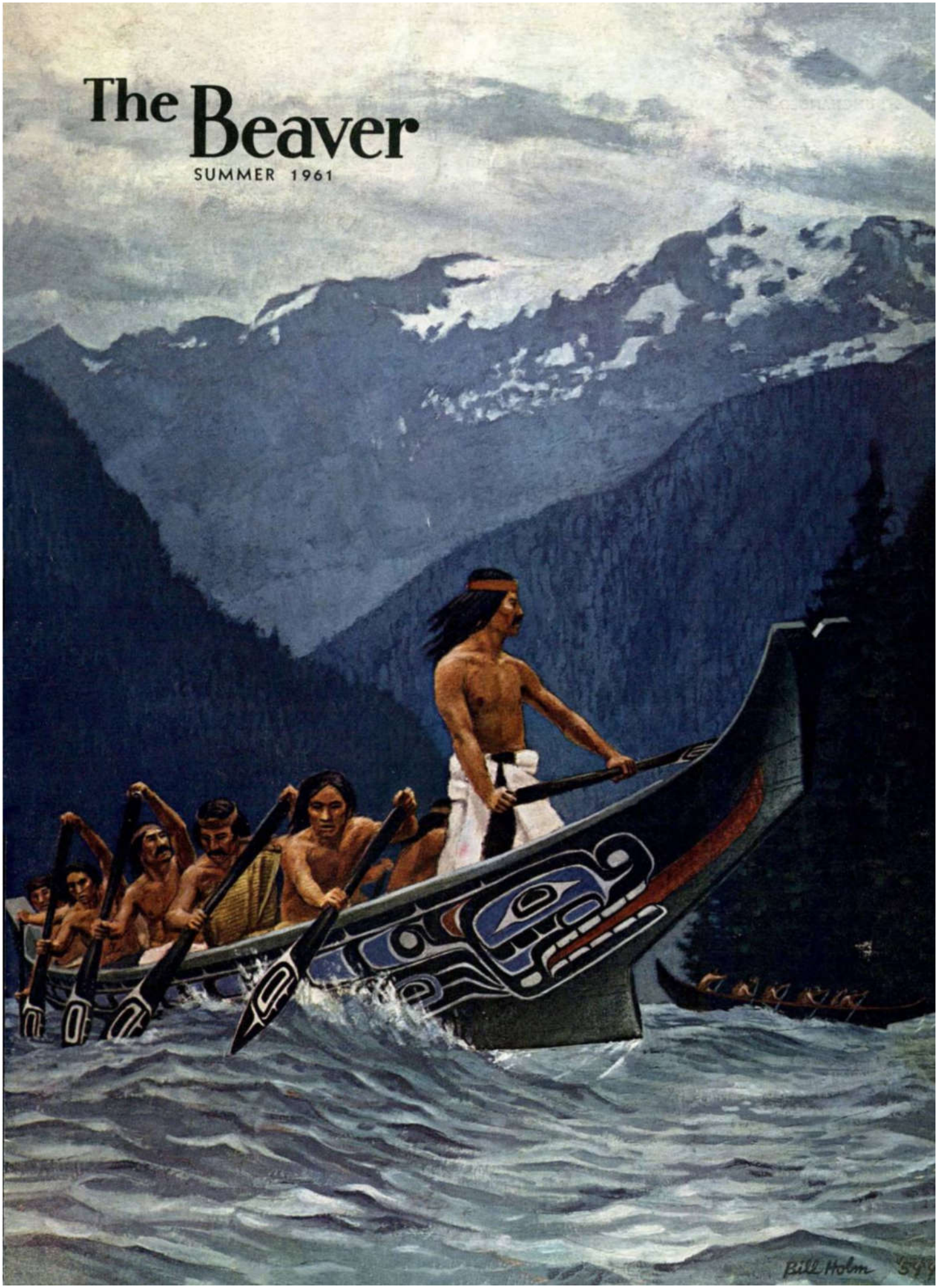
The Beaver

SUMMER 1961



THE UNCHANGED STANDARD: "choice goods as can be bought for money"

"...Wee have been as carefull to answer your desier as to the goodness and quallity of your trading goods, guns especially giveing the makers a great charge to amend those faults you complaine of in your Letter, wee have also endeavoured to gett you good hatchetts and Ice Chissells such as will be serviceable and strong according to the Patterns sent us; & that will please the Indians for you may be suer it is our Interest to have good goods..."

LETTER TO GOVERNOR GEYER, PORT NELSON, FROM THE GOVERNOR AND COMMITTEE, LONDON, MAY 21, 1691

Hudson's Bay Company.

INCORPORATED 2ND MAY 1670

SUMMER 1961
OUTFIT 292
$2 A YEAR

The Beaver

MAGAZINE OF THE NORTH

Editor: Malvina Bolus

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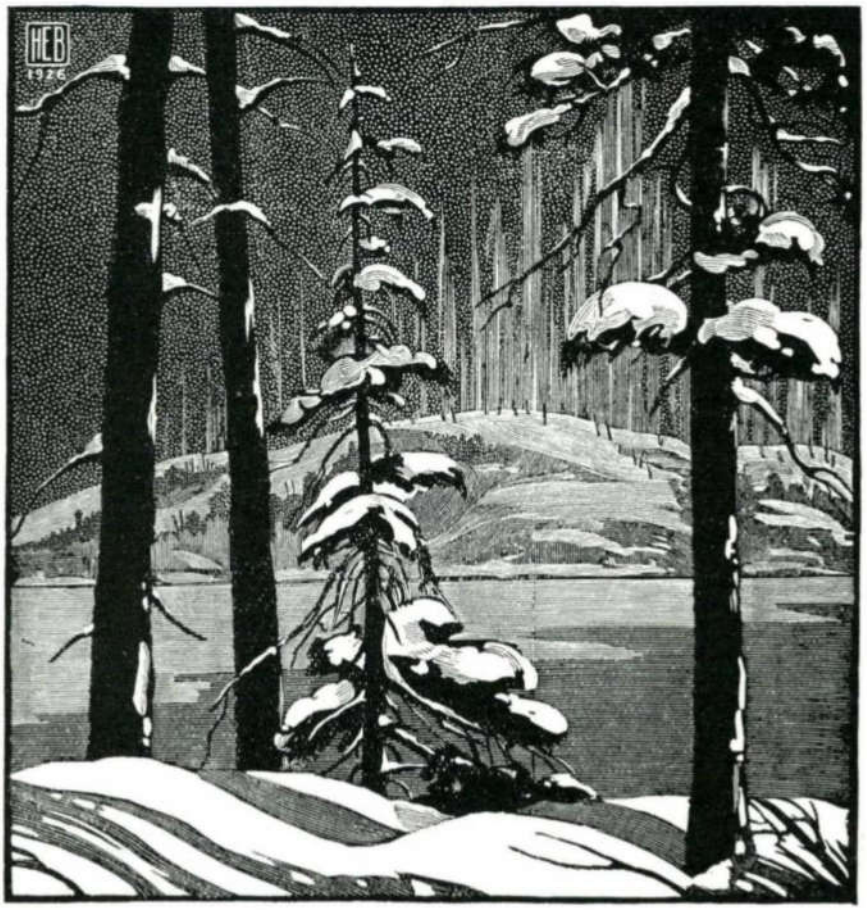
PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY

HUDSON'S BAY HOUSE — Hudson's Bay Company. — WINNIPEG 1, CANADA

INCORPORATED 2ND MAY 1670

Published by The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay, commonly known as the Hudson's Bay Company. The interests of THE BEAVER cover the territory with which the Company has been or is now associated, historically and currently. Annual subscription, $2; three years for $5; single copy, 50 cents. While every care will be taken of manuscripts and illustrations submitted, no liability will be assumed for loss. Authorized as second class mail, Post Office Department, Ottawa. Contents copyright. Printed in Canada.



From a wood engraving by H. E. Bergman

Canada's First Weathermen

BY A. BURNETT LOWE

IN the town of Meadow Lake in Northern Saskatchewan there stands a stone cairn to the memory of Peter Fidler. Peter Fidler lived close to 200 years ago and he was an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company. During the years from 1788 to 1822, he made his way up the rivers and across the plains of Western Canada, trading for furs, drawing maps, and building forts. And so, in his memory, this stone cairn at Meadow Lake was erected, and the inscription on it is this:

PETER FIDLER
Meteorologist, Surveyor

I was most surprised when I read this inscription. The surveyor part was all right; I knew that Fidler had surveyed a great deal of land in Canada, including, for instance, the Red River lots of the Selkirk Settlers. But the meteorologist part was baffling. I thought that meteorology in Canada was a comparatively recent thing; but here was a man who lived in Western Canada over 150 years ago who, so the inscription said, was a meteorologist. If this was so, surely he must have been Canada's first weatherman.

To get to the bottom of this mystery, I began searching through the old records of the Hudson's Bay Company and, sure enough, Peter Fidler had been a meteorologist. During the thirty odd years of his sojourn in Canada, he had been an ardent observer and recorder of the weather. As he moved about from one post to another, one of his first duties was to set up his meteorological equipment—his thermometer on the north side of the house where the sun could not get at it; his wind vane up on the roof; and his barometer in a sheltered room inside.

Mr. Lowe is meteorologist at Winnipeg International Airport

His records were kept faithfully, day after day, for some thirty years and recorded in a fine English hand in his ledger. Usually he read the instruments five times each day; the first reading was at daybreak and the last before going to bed at night; the others were equally spaced in between.

This regular reading of the instruments sometimes presented inconveniences but nothing was allowed to interfere. For instance, the entry for June 26, 1794, at York Factory reads: "House plundered by the Indians. Three men, one woman and two children murdered. Temperature 62. A smart breeze."

His records are full, too, of interesting comments about the changing seasons. He records the migration of the birds, the break-up of ice in the rivers and bays, the changing colour of the leaves. Here, for instance, is how spring arrived at Cumberland House in the year 1798:

March 13—A flock of snowbirds seen—the harbingers of spring.
March 18—Large blue meat flies seen in numbers, being early in the season.
April 11 —A swan first seen.
April 14 —Saw the first goose.
April 23 —Frogs began to croak.
May 12 —Mosquitoes pretty plentiful, being rather early in the season.
May 17 —Trees in bud.
May 18 —Leaves came out.

During the cold winter of 1794-5 at York Factory, it occurred to Fidler that he should test the purity of the alcoholic beverages in his cellar; and so, in his register, intermingled with data about wind and temperature, the following information is imparted: "December 31—Holland gin freezes at 17 below." The weather turned colder and the entry for January 5 reads: "English brandy freezes solid at 25 below." The cold continued and grew more bitter so that on January 11 the entry is "Rum freezes at 31 below."

I discovered that there had been other weathermen in those early days besides Peter Fidler. One was William Falconer, sloop master, who, during the years 1771 and 1772 took regular observations at Severn House on Hudson Bay. He, too, was very observant and carefully noted down the effect of the weather on the people and things around him. "Our people in the open marshes froze their faces for the first time . . . the beams of the house begin to crack with the frost."

It was a severe winter on the shores of Hudson Bay and Falconer eagerly reported the signs of approaching spring:

March 28—On Monday last the first snowbird was seen and several more since—also an eagle today. They are the first birds of passage that make their appearance on this coast in the spring.
April 5 —These five days past have been excessive warm and so clear that a speck has not been perceptible in the hemisphere.

But it was too good to last. During the second week of April he reports the air thick with snow occasionally mixed with "hearty showers of rain and sleet." On April 16th he says "The last two days we have had a constant strong gale of wind which has raised the snowdrifts much higher than they have hitherto been this winter." And even on May 3: "In the night was the most tempestuous gale of wind we have hitherto had this year attended with sharp frost and snow at intervals."

Some of the problems of observing the weather in the early days are noted in the record of Mr. Thomas Hutchins at York Factory in 1771. Mr. Hutchins had with great care brought over from the Old Country a mercury barometer, installed it in a special room, and taken daily readings of the mercury level. Then, on October 2, the following comment appears in his record: "This day some Indian children accidentally cracked the tube of the barometer. I made two ligatures on it and did not perceive any air had gained admittance." On October 4, however, there is no entry in the barometer column and he makes the remark: "In the night the mercury all subsided into the cistern of the barometer, no doubt occasioned by the admission of air through the cracks."

So for the next day or two he sought ways and means of repairing his barometer. He finally wrapped up the injured part of the tube with bladder moistened in a solution of gum arabic and secured it with silk. For a time the barometer seemed as good as new but then on the 10th there is the entry—"At 21 hours the cistern of the barometer dropped off, the tenacity of the glue having been destroyed by the moisture of the air, an incident the natural consequence of so gross an inattention."

A new barometer was obtained from overseas but before long they were in trouble again for an entry says: "Please take note that the surgeon being in great need of quicksilver, we were obliged to borrow some from the barometer, consequently no observations can be taken from the instrument for some time."

The weather reports of those early weathermen were much more colourful than is the terminology of meteorologists today. We describe weather today in terms such as "sunny with cloudy intervals," "widely scattered showers," "not much change in temperature." There's not much colour in language like that. But look at some

of the descriptions of the weather given by the early weathermen:

The night was boisterous with much rain.

Gentle snow falling.

A great fog on the river.

A wet rime descended.

Much rime which in the morning exhibited a beautiful scene with every tree and shrub encrusted and adorned with spangles.

A smart flash of lightning.

A copious dew descended.

Serene weather.

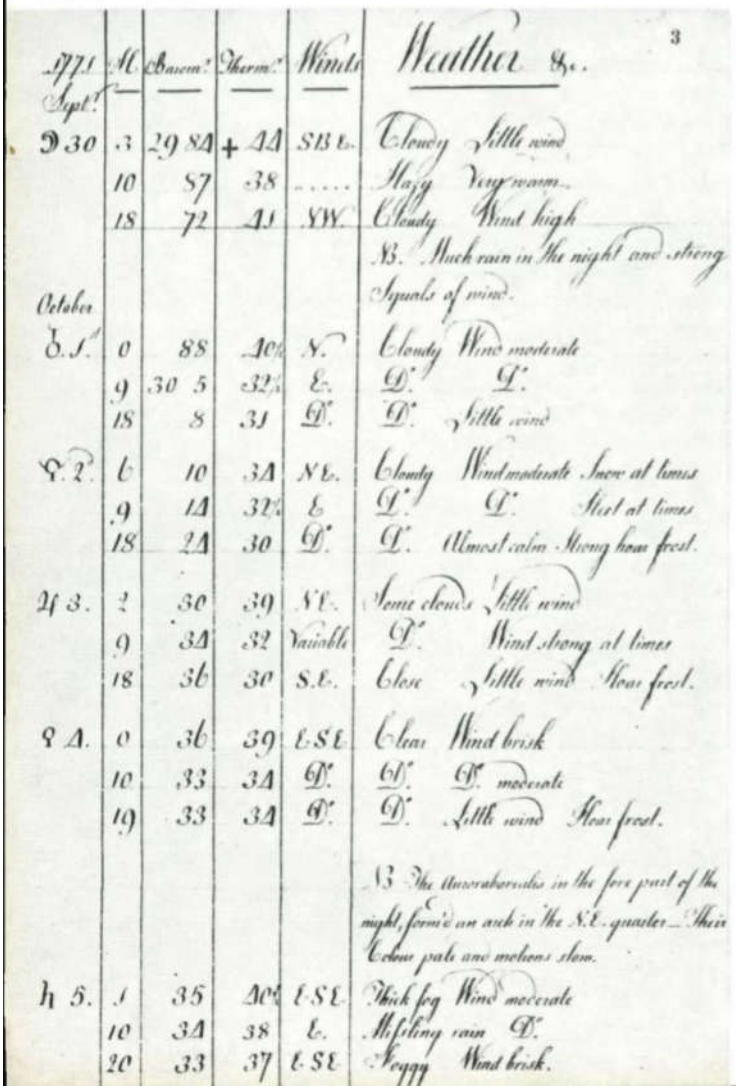
Damp and disagreeable.

A middling breeze.

The cold raw and piercing.

And here is a description given by Thomas Hutchins in 1771 of the changeable weather in Canada:

"In the evening the sky was clear, the stars numerous and refulgent. At midnight it was cloudy and snow fell. This is one of the many instances of the sudden vicissitudes of the weather in Hudson's Bay."



1771 Sept.r	M.	Barom.r	Therm.r	Winds	Weather &c. 3
D 30	3	29 84	+ 44	SW b.	Cloudy little wind
	10	87	38	.....	Hazy Very warm
	18	72	41	SW.	Cloudy Wind high
					M. Much rain in the night and strong Squals of wind.
October					
1 M.	0	88	40½	N.	Cloudy Wind moderate
	9	30 5	32½	E.	D.o L.o
	18	8	31	D.o	D.o little wind
2 T.	6	10	34	N E.	Cloudy Wind moderate Snow at times
	9	14	32½	E	L.o L.o Sleet at times
	18	24	30	D.o	L.o Almost calm Strong hoar frost.
3 W.	2	30	39	N E.	Some clouds little wind
	9	34	32	Variable	D.o Wind strong at times
	18	36	30	S E.	Close little wind Hoar frost.
4 T.	0	36	39	E S E	Clear Wind brisk
	10	33	34	D.o	D.o D.o moderate
	19	33	34	D.o	D.o little wind Hoar frost.
					M. The Auroraborealis in the fore part of the night, form'd an arch in the S E. quarter. Their Colour pale and motions slow.
5 F.	1	35	40½	E S E	Thick fog Wind moderate
	10	34	38	E.	Misling rain D.o
	20	33	37	E S E	Foggy Wind brisk.

There were several old English words used to describe the weather—words which are no longer in common usage; the word "mizzle" for instance, which meant a combination of mist and light rain; and the word "roak," to describe the steam fog rising in winter from the open leads of the bay.

Graphic descriptions were given of the Northern Lights. Here is one by William Falconer: "The aurora borealis shone in the night with great lustre. From East to North they formed an arch but otherwise they were in divers positions with their motions tremulous."

Other heavenly phenomena received similar attention. Here is a comment from Thomas Hutchins' register: "In the evening the moon bright and beautifully ornamented with a halo and 3 paraselenae, but being conscious of inability to convey an adequate idea in words, we beg leave to attempt by the following diagram." A detailed drawing followed.

Most of the early records which I have obtained are from northern Canada, from posts such as York Factory and Severn; but there are others from the prairie regions —Brandon House on the Assiniboine, Chesterfield House and Buckingham House on the Saskatchewan.

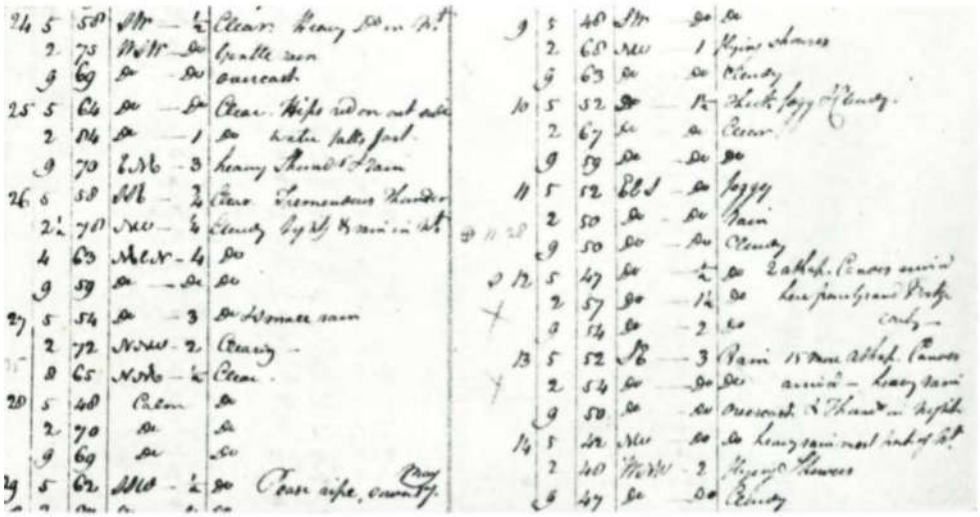
In the reports from these posts during the autumn there is frequent mention of the visibility being reduced by "smoak." In autumn, when all vegetation was dry, alarming fires often broke out, spreading for miles across the unbroken plains and lasting sometimes for weeks together. Peter Fidler, as he describes the prairie sky, often speaks of "fire clouds" as the smoke billows from distant fires rolled across overhead. When he was stationed at Brandon House he makes note on one occasion that the entire Moosehead Hills were on fire.

I was much impressed with the care which these pioneer weathermen took to ensure good observations. Thomas Hutchins, in an introduction to his weather records at York Factory in 1772, gives a detailed description of the location of his observatory, mentioning its elevation, distance from the sea and surrounding woods. These remarks, he says, "May be of some utility in indicating any uncommon phenomena which may appear."

Hutchins goes on to describe his instruments. Of his thermometers, he makes the comment: "We have great reason to think them both very good as Mr. Wales, the astronomer, (who remarked the last transit of Venus at Churchill) was commissioned to send them."

The number scale which was used to indicate wind speed was quite new to me. It varied from 0 to 4, with 0 apparently intended for calm conditions and 4 representing a strong gale. Nowadays we measure winds in miles per hour; before that, the Beaufort scale was in common

William Falconer's beautifully kept ledger for Severn House, 1771, shows a day of missling rain. Illustrations are from the H B C Archives.



Extract from Peter Fidler's Cumberland House meteorological journal July 1790. In addition to weather observations such as "tremendous thunder" he notes on the 25th "Hips red on outside" and, on the 29th, "Pease ripe, sown May 17."

In the York Factory meteorological journal for 1772, Thomas Hutchins begins the Remarks column for January 23rd "At noon the Thermometer's mercury had sunk below the graduated line . . ." He includes a diagram of parhelia round the sun observed the next day.

usage, but Admiral Beaufort devised his scale in 1808 and these observations were made long before that.

Finally, a clue was found in some remarks by Thomas Hutchins. "In judging the force of the wind," he says, "we have endeavoured to follow the method proposed by Dr. Jacob Jurin in No. 379 of the Philosophical Transactions and lately made use of by a learned society at Edinburgh."

A letter to the Royal Society in London brought a copy of Dr. Jurin's paper, written in scholarly Latin. Speaking of his wind scale, Dr. Jurin says "Force 1 signifies the gentlest motion of the wind, scarcely agitating the leaves of the trees; 4 the truly maximum violence of the wind; the numbers 2 and 3 describing the intermediate forces between these, and the cipher denoting a perfect calm."

Most of us are inclined to think that the weather in the early days of our country was more severe than it is now. We read in history books of the hardships suffered by the early settlers due to the extremities of the weather —like that incident in the early days of the Selkirk Settlers when a buffalo hunting party was caught on the open plains by a sudden blizzard and thirty-three perished before shelter could be reached.

In order to find out just how cold and stormy it was in the early days, I calculated the average temperatures and precipitations for all the years of record I had gathered together. I found, first of all, that the weather varied considerably from year to year then, just as it does now. There were wet seasons, when the rivers were as high in autumn as they were in spring, and there were other years when drought was widespread. There were cold winters and mild winters. Here, in Manitoba, we talk about the very cold winter of 1950. The natives of this part of Canada a century and a half ago must have similarly talked about the year 1797 when, as Fidler said, "this has been the most backward spring and cold winter ever known by any person in these parts."

But as far as the average temperatures are concerned over a period of years, here are the results. For the three winter months—December, January, and February—the mean temperature at York Factory a century and a half or more ago was 14.1 below. Our present day records for the same place give a mean temperature of 13.3 below—just about the same. At Cumberland House, near The Pas, the figures are: in the old days 3.5 below; at present 3.3 below—almost identical. As a further check, I figured out the average of the daily minimum temperatures for January, the coldest month, for York Factory. In the old days it was 24 below and the figure which we have today for York Factory is exactly the same—24 below.

So when Peter Fidler travelled this way nigh 200 years ago, he had just about exactly the same weather to put up with as we have today. ◆

FROLIC AT FORT NISQUALLY

BY TERRY PETTUS

A freelance writer living in Seattle, Mr. Pettus has a deep interest in the history of the Northwest.

The Hudson's Bay Company Fort Nisqually, sketched by James M. Alden in July 1857.
Washington State Hist. Soc.

FIRST hand accounts of the lighter side of life at the isolated fur trading posts in the Pacific Northwest a century or so ago are, unfortunately, something of a rarity. For the following engaging narrative, which adds some depth and not a little vibrant colour to our picture of pioneer life, we are indebted to Edward Huggins whose memory is indelibly linked to old Fort Nisqually, established by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1833.

In a letter to a friend, Mr. Huggins describes himself as a "cockney" who was "born within the sound of the Bow Church Bells," in the Southwark borough of London town. The date was 10 June 1832.

Until the age of seven, he attended a "child's school" and was then enrolled in Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School, Bermondsey. At 15, his schooling completed, he was employed as a clerk in a ship broker's office in Gracechurch Street, located only a short distance from the headquarters of the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay. The proximity of these two offices was to determine the course of Mr. Huggins' life. In due time the young clerk attracted the favourable attention of Mr. Benjamin Harrison, a member of the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company. He was offered and accepted employment and at the age of 17 took ship to begin a long, varied, and venturesome career in northwestern America.

The youth sailed from London in October 1849, aboard the *Norman Morrison*, and arrived at Fort Victoria on Vancouver Island in March of the following year. He was assigned by Chief Factor James Douglas to work under Dr. William Fraser Tolmie, Chief Trader at Fort Nisqually on the southern end of Puget Sound.

In the "Journal of Occurrences" of Fort Nisqually under the date of Saturday, 13 April 1850, Dr. Tolmie made this entry: "In the afternoon the *Cadboro* arrived and, having a large number of Indians on pay and rations, I employed them in discharging the schooner. A Mr. Huggins, lately from England in the *Norman Morrison*, arrived per *Cadboro* to act as clerk and shopman."

When the young clerk walked through the Fort's main gate for the first time and looked wonderingly at the stout palisades and towering bastions, he little knew that a lifetime link was being forged. Fifty-seven years later, he would die on that very spot—the owner of the old Fort and some thousand acres of rolling land.

With the outbreak of the Indian war of 1855, Mr. Huggins was given his first important assignment as an employee of the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, a subsidiary of the Hudson's Bay Company. He was placed in charge of Muck Farm, located some ten miles to the east. He was made responsible for livestock which numbered as many as 7,000 head of cattle, 10,000 sheep, and 300 horses.

In 1857, Mr. Huggins brought a bride to Muck Farm—Letitia Work, daughter of Chief Factor John Work of the Board of Management of the H B C Western Department. Other daughters of Mr. Work were the wives of Dr. Tolmie, Roderick Finlayson, and James A. Grahame, also of the Hudson's Bay service. In 1859, Dr. Tolmie succeeded Chief Factor James Douglas at Fort Victoria and Mr. Huggins was placed in charge of Fort Nisqually. He held that post until 1869 when the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company settled its claim against the U.S. government under the treaty of 1846. With its withdrawal Mr. Huggins, now a citizen of the United States, filed a pre-emption claim on Fort Nisqually and eventually obtained title to what was left of the old trading post. When the effects at the Fort were auctioned in May 1870 he was the principal buyer. For several years he continued the operation of the old Sale Shop and dealt in furs until that business became too unprofitable. He bought additional land bringing the holdings of the "Nisqually Farm" up to about 1,000 acres. In 1886, he was elected a Pierce County Commissioner and subsequently served three terms as county auditor. With sons running the farm, he joined the staff of the National Bank of Commerce and became a vice-president. Failing in health, he resigned that post in 1905 and returned to "Fort Nisqually" where he died in 1907 at the age of 75.

Some time before the turn of the century, Mr. Huggins began the historical writings which were to engage his attention for several years. It is also obvious that he was generous in his assistance to others, particularly the widely known Northwest historian, Clarence B. Bagley (1843-1932). Between August 10th and December 9th, 1900, fifteen of his articles were published in the *Sunday Oregonian* of Portland.

Among the papers now in the possession of the Manuscript Division of the University of Washington Library, is an inventory of his writings in Mr. Huggins' hand. Besides the published articles, it lists seven titles under this heading: "Manuscript Stories in the Possession (?) of Mr. C. B. Bagley, April 7, 1905." The insertion of the question mark indicates that Mr. Huggins was not quite certain as to the location of the seven unpublished manuscripts. But at least three of them were indeed in the possession of Mr. Bagley. When the huge collection of Bagley papers was acquired by the University Library, the following narrative as well as the manuscripts of the "Fur Trade Stories No. 1 and 2" came to light. No trace has as yet been found of the remaining four which Mr. Huggins listed in the inventory as: "The Gold Dust Story," "The Beach Store Robbery," "A Perilous Trip from Fort Nisqually to Alki Point in a Canoe, Heavily Laden, in 1852" and "Something About Nisqually River Fords and Bridges." The search for them continues.

The following account is obviously a first draft. In preparing it for publication, I have made only those changes which would probably be made by the author in rewriting or an editor in preparing the copy for the printer. Some repetitious matter has been deleted along with some interpolations not related to the main burden of the narrative. The temptation was great to bedeck the story with footnotes, especially about the Indian uprising. But a few words here will lend the necessary clarity, and, perhaps, be less burdensome to the reader.

It is unfortunate that Angus MacDonald's letter to Dr. Tolmie, warning that an Indian war was imminent, has apparently been lost. Mr. Huggins says that it was received in September. No mention of it is to be found in the "Journal of Occurrences." The first intimation of Indian trouble is found under the entry of September 21, 1855, which reads:

"Dr. Tolmie went to Steilacoom Barracks accompanied by Mr. Work and sold eight horses to the U.S. government. Some sixty soldiers are to proceed into the interior concerning some Indian difficulty." A company of 50 men under Lt. W. A. Slaughter did proceed into Yakima country but learning of the overwhelming strength of the hostile Indian forces prudently withdrew. Lt. Slaughter was later killed in a skirmish near the present city of Auburn, Washington.

It is probable that MacDonald, on the return trip with the valuable pack train which contained considerable arms and ammunition, did meet the hot-headed young warrior Qualchin (Qualchen) and that disaster was narrowly averted. Qualchen, then about 22 years of age, was the son of Chief Ow-hi (Uu-hi or Ouchi) and nephew of Chief Kamiakin of the Yakimas.

Mr. Huggins knew Qualchen well and had reason to believe that he had murdered a number of prospectors

Chief Ow-hi or Uu-hi, from a sketch by Gustav Sohon.
Oregon Historical Society

Kamiakin, principal chief of the Yakima and confederate tribes, by Gustav Sohon.
Oregon Historical Society

and trappers who had been outfitted at Fort Nisqually, entered the Yakima country and were never heard from again. History leaves no doubt that the young man lived up to Mr. Huggins' harsh but accurate characterization, "a murderous young villain." Just prior to the outbreak of hostilities, A. J. Bolon was appointed a special government agent to the Yakimas. Young Qualchen treacherously offered to guide him to Chief Kamiakin to discuss grievances. En route Qualchen murdered the government emissary and tried to cover up the crime by partially burning the body. In 1857, Qualchen arrogantly stalked into an army camp where his father, Chief Ow-hi was being held prisoner. He was summarily hanged for the murder of Bolon. Several days later the old chief was shot and killed, while allegedly attempting to escape.

But these events were the grim aftermath of the pleasing and peaceful events at Fort Nisqually described by Mr. Huggins in the following story.

The story of the coming via the Naches Pass, of the Hudsons Bay Company's Brigade, with the Fur returns of Outfit 1855: from the various posts in the Oregon department; and the return of brune, packed with goods.

Edward Huggins

THE BOARD of Management of Hudson's Bay Company's affairs, with headquarters at Fort Vancouver, Columbia River, had decided that the "Fur Returns" from the different posts, or trading establishments in Oregon and Washington Territory, for the year ending May 31st, 1855—which hitherto had been taken to Fort Vancouver—should, this year, be taken to Fort Nisqually (which post is situate on Puget Sound, six miles south of Steilacoom, directly upon the high road between Olympia and Tacoma) by way of the Cascade range of mountains, through Naches Pass, and the supply of goods required by these posts, and servants, for the trade and wants of the ensuing year should be obtained at Fort Nisqually and freighted back by the horses that carried the furs.

The principal reason for making this order was because Fort Nisqually was overstocked with goods, the usual kind required to carry on trade with Indians, and a small selection of the finer kinds of goods, to satisfy the de-

Fort Nisqually, probably in the 1870s after it was purchased by Huggins.

Seattle Historical Society

mands of the now fast increasing white population coming into the country to find employment at the large saw mills in operation and in the course of construction, and also to take up claims—farms—under the United States' liberal land laws.

We at Fort Nisqually made preparations for packing the goods for the interior posts long before the arrival of the Brigade of Horses bringing the furs. A small press was made by one of our Canadian carpenters. It was a primitive affair but answered all purposes. Its pressing power was the wedge and it made a compact, small bale. Each bale weighing about eighty pounds, two of which made a load for a horse and weighed 160 pounds, a load quite heavy enough for a common pony weighing from 700 to 1,000 pounds to pack over such roads and trails as are found in this mountainous country. Some of the goods couldn't be pressed and such were put in strong boxes. Shot and ball were put in rawhide casings, which required to be strong enough to prevent loss en route.

On the 27th of June the Fort Journal states that "three French Canadians arrived at the Fort and presented an order from Mr. Angus MacDonald, the officer in charge of Fort Colville [Fort Colvile up the Columbia River, named for Andrew Colvile of the H B C Committee], for flour and other provisions for the use of the Brigade, which was in the mountain approaches and would probably arrive in about five days." They were correct in their prediction, for on the 2nd of July at about midday, I was startled to see a tall, rather slim man ride into the Fort, dismount and walk towards the large house where he was met and kindly received by Doctor Tolmie. This was Angus MacDonald of Fort Colvile, and now in charge of the Brigade of upwards of 200 horses, most of them packed with furs, the result of the years trade of Fort Colvile, Walla Walla, Boise, Hall, Okanogan, Nez Percé and the Snake country.

I had heard a great deal about MacDonald and was anxious to meet him, which desire was soon gratified, for Doctor Tolmie brought him to the packing room where I was working and gave me an introduction to him. He was rather a good looking man, about six feet in height, straight and slim, but was said to be very wiry and strong. He had a dark complexion, with long jet black hair reaching to his shoulders and a thick, long and very black beard and mustache. He wore a dressed deer skin over shirt and pants, a regatta or rowing shirt and had a black silk handkerchief tied loosely around his neck. He had a black piercing eye and a deep sonorous voice, with a low and rather monotonous manner of speaking. He was fond of telling Indian stories and legends, and would sometimes keep the audience entranced and spellbound, when walking slowly to and fro in the large Nisqually reception room, telling some blood curdling Indian story, in which he had borne a conspicuous part. He could talk several Indian languages and had lived a long time amongst the Blackfoot Indians and was full of interesting stories of adventure amongst that one time savage tribe. He was excessively fond of living the life of an aborigine and would much prefer to live in a tent or lodge than in a house built in accordance with civilized plans. He was fairly educated. He read a great deal and was well up on the politics of the day. He was a good French linguist but his native tongue was the Gaelic of the Scotch Highlands, and he was very fond of singing, or chanting, in a deep, not by any means musical voice, Gaelic songs and verses improvised by himself.

Sometimes Dr. Tolmie would join in, when he sang or attempted to sing, some old and well known Scotch ditty. The Doctor could talk and understand Gaelic although he wasn't a native Highlander, but came near being one, having been born in Inverness. The Doctor was very fond of music and although he was not the possessor of a voice like "Marios" or "Jean de Resche," he could sing a great variety of Gaelic songs. But as for MacDonald he was never tired of chanting Gaelic lines. I should think it was something like the late Signor Folis' voice, the great basso, when suffering from a very bad cold. The most astonishing thing about it was that "Mac" labored under the idea that he was a fine singer, and the possessor of a voice which only required a little training to be equal to any of the leading basso profundos of the day. He was married to either a Nez Percé or a Kallispel, the daughter of a leading chieftain, and had several children by her. One a girl named Christine, who was said to be quite good looking, for a long time was the belle of Colvile.

MacDonald was a staunch Briton, and was very plain spoken. In fact, I thought he was sometimes offensively rude when talking to Americans. He made a visit to us during the San Juan difficulty, and I recollect that I once took him to Olympia where he never missed an opportunity for getting into a wordy quarrel with some American upon the San Juan question. I thought that more than once I saved him from being assaulted for talking so contemptuously of decent Americans. It was only the fact of his being my friend that saved him, but he didn't appreciate it, and continued as abusive as ever until at last I refrained from taking him with me when I visited adjoining towns. One time at Fort Steilacoom [U.S. military post 6 miles from Nisqually] he got into an argument with an officer just as prejudiced against the British as was "Mac" against the Americans and a challenge to fight a duel was very nearly the result, but I succeeded in calming troubled waters. "Mac" would have fought in a minute and the American officer was a regular fire eater.

Not very long after his arrival there came trotting into the Fort yard the first detachment of the Brigade, about 20 horses, all laden with packs of furs and in charge of two men. Detachments continued to arrive until upwards of 200 pack animals were inside the Fort yard and about 25 men were in charge of them. There were also spare animals for packing and riding and not a few were packed with tents, cooking utensils and what little provisions remained. Unloading the animals immediately commenced, each detachment being attended to by the two men to whom its care belonged.

Angus MacDonald *Oregon Historical Society*

The valuable lot of furs was turned over to me and I had 20 men already selected to watch them. There was a lot of work to do with these furs, exposing them frequently to the air, beating and getting them ready for making into larger bales for shipment to Victoria. Amongst the lot of furs received were a large number of Foxes, Marten and Mink, small but valuable furs and strict watch had to be kept over them to prevent peculation by Indians. Sometimes even white men would be caught trying to get away with a valuable Marten.

Some of the furs had been slightly damaged in crossing the many rivers along the route, but I was surprised to see them open up in such condition as they did. To give some idea of the extensive character of the fur trade at the few posts in the Rocky Mountain district, and in a country not at all remarkable for prolific fur returns, I will give here a statement of the kinds and quantities of the furs I was now handling and just delivered by the pack train:

1,300 Bear skins (250 of them Grizzlies); 200, Badgers; 2,500, Beaver; 350, Fisher (a beautiful fur scarce and hard to catch. It is something like the Marten, only very much larger, and a first class skin was worth here from $5 to $8 and in the London market would fetch probably $20 to $30); 12 Silver, 80 Cross Silver and 334 Red Foxes; 185 Lynx (prime fur); 1,500 Marten; 575, Mink; 8,000, Musquash; 412, Land Otter; 580, Wolves (prime fur) and 45, Wolverine.

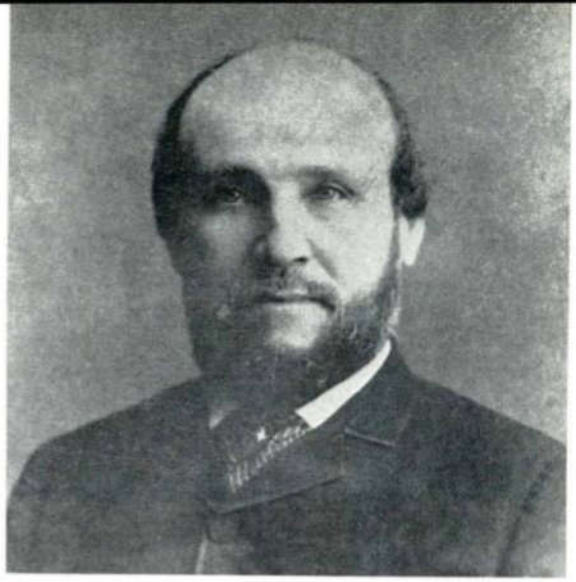
The men accompanying MacDonald were a cosmopolitan crowd. There were Scotchmen, French Canadians,

Halfbreeds and Iroquois Indians. The foreman was a Scotch Highlander and when at home was in charge of a little trading post amongst the Blackfoot Indians. The Canadians were strong, wiry fellows, and amongst them were men who had been in the employ of the company for fifty years. The Iroquois or Halfbreed Iroquois were the best looking men in the band. The handsomest and strongest man amongst them was a halfbreed Iroquois and French Canadian. He was very strong and agile, and being the champion athlete amongst his own people, he challenged our hands to run a foot race and other games requiring strength and endurance. Although amongst our staff were some strong and powerful fellows this Iroquois beat them all, and at running a foot race he beat them badly.

These men of the Brigade were great fellows to brag and crow and they were constantly taunting our fellows and claiming their superiority. Our men, especially the Englishmen, and several were attached to the place, felt humiliated at the idea of this Iroquois beating them so easily. They were aware that one of the clerks of the establishment, a young Englishman likewise, was able to outrun them all easily and they felt satisfied that this young fellow could beat the Iroquois champion. They begged him to accept the braggart's challenge and they felt satisfied that he could take the laurels from the brow of the fastest runner in the Colvile, Nez Percé country.

The young Englishman was a little doubtful of his ability to beat such a muscular, strong looking fellow and resisted the importunities of the Nisqually men for some time. But the conduct of the Brigade men became so insufferably boastful, that he at last gave in and agreed to run the champion a short race of 100 yards. The coming contest caused a great deal of excitement and so confident were the Colviles of winning that they offered to bet almost all they were worth upon their man, but the young clerk would not allow the Fort men to run any risk of losing and refused to run if they insisted upon betting.

Letitia Huggins who was the daughter of Chief Factor John Work.
Oregon Historical Society



Edward Huggins. *Washington State. Hist. Soc.*

MacDonald laughed at the idea of the young man for a moment thinking he could compete with such a well known runner as their champion, but agreed to act as starter with, I think, Doctor Tolmie and Mr. Peers acting as judges. The race was to be run in the evening after the days work was over. In the summer time and in the evenings, it was customary for the young people, and a few old ones likewise, to assemble at the water gate, where there were seats placed at the foot of the palisades. Then young men would have games, run races, throw the hammer, put the stone and pitch quoits. These sports would bring around us many Indians, who would sometimes join in the games but not often.

The starting point was down the road, west of the gate. A line was drawn and 100 yards measured off, terminating almost opposite the small gate where another line was made. The first man to cross this line was the winner. Between 6 and 7 p.m. a large crowd had assembled at the gate, for the coming race had caused quite an excitement and many Indians from the Nisqually and Puyallup rivers had come to witness the struggle, for the clerk was well known to the Indians and was rather a favourite. At the time appointed the contestants appeared. The Iroquois, Edourd Pichette was his name, wore a gaudy, loud colored shirt fitting tight around his big, barrel-formed chest. A handsome red silk belt around his waist and a pair of thin cotton drawers which showed his handsome, muscular legs to good advantage. He was a splendid figure of a man, such a chest he had. It was round like a barrel and altogether he looked a fit model to satisfy any fastidious painter or sculptor.

The young Englishman stripped well also, and I noticed that MacDonald was astonished when he saw his well developed chest and powerful arms, for the young man was a leader in the prevailing games throwing the hammer, putting the stone and pitching the heavy iron quoits.

All was now ready for the race. The Halfbreed was cool and confident of success, as were his fellows who, to

the last, were anxious to bet their last shirt and inch of tobacco (the tobacco sold to the men came in large 100 pound rolls and was like a rope and about one inch in diameter) upon their favourite. The starting place was 100 measured yards west of the water gate, a small postern gate which led to the creek, the "Sequallitchen" river. At the time its boards were perforated with holes, made with bullets fired by the Snoqualmie Indians when they attacked the Fort in 1849. It was here that poor Leander Wallace fell, shot to death by these same Snoqualmies.

Well all was ready and at an agreed upon signal from MacDonald a fair start was made. The young Englishman jumping ahead at the start and, to our astonishment, he increased his lead until the end of the first 50 yards when Pichette, the Iroquois, shortened the distance between them to about three yards. From then on to the winning sprint the handsome young Iroquois shortened the distance, but to the intense disgust of MacDonald and his company the Englishman won the race by a distance of about four or five feet.

Oh, the howling and hurrahing by the English part of the crowd. "Sacréeing" and other demoralizing French expressions from the Canadians and the silent jubilant looks of the Nisqually Indians. It was all very pleasing to the English victor. Edourd Pichette earnestly begged the Englishman to run him the distance of one mile, or half a mile and down to two hundred yards but the Englishman was wise and refused to run any more and was content to rest on his laurels. The young man's reputation as a great runner, who had defeated the Rocky Mountain champion, spread over the Indian country between Colvile and the base of the Rockies. [Nowhere in the manuscript is the name of the young clerk given but Mr. Huggins himself neatly fits every descriptive detail and may well have been the athlete who prudently 'retired' undefeated.]

A dance was given by Dr. Tolmie to the MacDonald band of packers before leaving for their homes. One of the large stores was emptied of goods and it became a fine dancing hall. A room about 60 feet in length and 30 feet in width, its floor was rather rough but that didn't trouble the dancers. One or two of the Canadians were fair fiddlers and, of course, a liberal supply of whiskey was provided and nearly all the young Indian girls and Halfbreeds in the neighbourhood were there. In those days there were quite a number of French Canadians, ex-Hudson's Bay Company servants, married to Indian women and living in this country.

The Indian women and the Halfbreed women and girls were passionately fond of dancing and almost all the Indian women had an original way of dancing, a step of their own. It was very comical to see them, ten or a dozen at one time. "Jigs" were their favourite dances and they would stand facing their partners and keep time to music by simply bobbing or jumping up and down. No step, no change, but always the same jumping with both feet from the ground at the same time.

We had in our employ at that time about ten Kanakas (Sandwich Islanders) and to vary the entertainment I would persuade these men to dance some of their native dances. They would cheerfully comply, and standing in a row would begin a wild and monotonous chant, keeping time by moving their bodies with great exactitude and twisting about, in which I could see no dancing but merely posturing and sometimes it seemed to me to be an unseemly performance in the presence of ladies.

The old granary of 1843, in the restored Fort Nisqually. C. J. Seman

One of the men attached to Fort Nisqually was an Englishman named Dean (one of the two sons of Mr. Thomas Dean, the Bailiff sent out by the London directorate to supersede Dr. Tolmie). He was a genius, a comical character and a natural musician. He could sing comic songs in character and was, for a time, the life of the place. He made, in the course of two or three hours, a common tin whistle upon which he could play fairly well tunes from operas. He made a set of Punch and Judy

When Fort Nisqually was reconstructed at Tacoma overlooking Puget Sound, 15 miles from the original site, the Factor's house of 1854 was one of the two old buildings restored.

figures, or dolls, and he would go through the performance of Mr. Punch and his wife, Judy, just as clever and good as I have often seen it performed in London.

It was arranged that he should give his Punch performance at MacDonald's party. He did so and I never before saw a party of men so pleased and delighted in my lifetime. Several of the men had never been out of this country in their lives—had never been inside a theatre. Young Dean's Punch and Judy show was a revelation to them. There was one old chap in the crowd whose manifestation of pleasure particularly pleased me. He was a Canadian Frenchman, a very stout old man, small in stature but very strong and muscular. He was upwards of 60 years of age, and had been in this country all his life. He understood enough English to follow Punch's show, and to witness that old man's expression of delight was, to me, a far better show than Mr. Punch's. Oh, how the old man would laugh. He would lay down upon the floor, kick up his heels and burst into paroxysms of laughter, almost causing all of his fellows to do likewise. I am sure this old fellow and others of the band never forgot Monsieur Punch and I can fancy how often the story of the show would be told by the campfire and in the wilds of the trapper's camps in the Rockies.

The horses had put on flesh and their backs had nearly healed up when the Walla Walla contingent was ordered to get ready to start for home. On the 18th of July the Brigade of 55 horses, laden with goods, started for Fort Walla Walla and on the 25th of July, 1855, MacDonald with the remainder of the train left for Colvile, taking with them 76 horses packed with goods.

Doctor Tolmie received a communication from MacDonald after he had arrived safely at his journey's end and his letter was very interesting indeed. He left here in July and in the month of September the Indian War broke out. We, at least Doctor Tolmie, knew the condition of the minds of the Indians and had been in communication with Governor Stevens on the subject, but had no idea that the outbreak was so imminent. MacDonald's letter opened his eyes and alarmed him greatly.

The Walla Walla party, which had left Nisqually a few days in advance of the main body, became alarmed at something they providentially had learned on the road, and encamped before entering the foothills and awaited the arrival of MacDonald. Lucky for them they did, for if they had continued along ahead, no doubt they would all have been murdered. Being Hudson's Bay Company people would, in my opinion, have made no difference to the murderous young scoundrel, Qualchen. To get possession of what would have been to the hostile Indians such an immensely valuable lot of goods as were in the pack train, the bloody minded young villain would have murdered the entire party, including MacDonald, without the slightest feeling of compunction.

MacDonald's influence amongst the Indians must have been very great indeed to have allowed him to come scatheless through such a danger. He was looked up to by the Spokanes, Nez Percé, Blackfeet, Kallispels and indeed all the tribes between the Yakima valley and the Rocky Mountains, as a great medicine man, although a white man. I have no doubt that reputation, along with the ability to talk to the Indians in their own language, permitted him to pass safely through the ranks of the Indians, who were almost on the eve of declaring themselves hostile, and safely conveying such a valuable lot of goods to their destination. ◆

John White's Drawings of Eskimos

BY P. H. HULTON,
Assistant Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum.

Photographs by courtesy of the British Museum except where noted.

IT may come as a surprise to discover that among the pictures of Indians and of the natural life of Sir Walter Raleigh's Virginia, drawn in water-colours by the Elizabethan artist and colonizer John White, are two portraits of Eskimos (figs. 1 and 2). The Indians have been famous since they were first engraved by Theodor de Bry in *America*, published in 1590, the first volume of his great series of illustrated books on the New World. But the Eskimos were not engraved by De Bry and their portraits have remained almost unknown though they have been accessible in the British Museum, along with the rest of the White drawings, for nearly a century. Laurence Binyon, who first catalogued the complete set of drawings in 1907, described the Eskimos as natives of Greenland. Our knowledge did not advance further until they were identified recently by Dr. Kaj Birket-Smith of Copenhagen as Eskimos of South Baffin Island. Apart from one less convincing drawing (fig. 3), perhaps a copy by White's Flemish contemporary Lucas de Heere, White's are by far the earliest portraits of Eskimos to survive.

John White sailed as the official artist of Raleigh's first Virginian colony of 1585 and as Governor of the second colony of 1587. His inability to establish the latter successfully, his return to England for supplies and his desperate attempts to relieve it, ending finally in the failure of 1590, form one of the tragic stories of English colonial enterprise. It was generally assumed that his travels were confined to the Virginian voyages. Now it seems there is good reason for thinking otherwise and the evidence rests entirely with the group of Eskimo drawings and prints discussed here, for there is no mention of White in any documents of exploration now known, other than those relating to the Virginian venture. Looking closely at the original portraits of the Eskimo man and of the woman and her baby, in which the texture of their skin clothing, the tattoo marks on the face of the woman, and other details are minutely and convincingly shown, it is impossible not to believe that these are portraits from the life. They are probably highly finished versions, executed at some later period, of the artist's original sketches. This may account for the one curious and fanciful feature which does not appear in the copies (from other original versions now lost) shown in figs. 7 to 9: absurdly, in both figures, the navels are visible beneath the thick skin coats.

There seems no reason to doubt that these are portraits of the Eskimos captured on Sir Martin Frobisher's second expedition of 1577 in search of a Northwest Passage. We know that an Eskimo man alone was captured on his first voyage in 1576, the one drawn by De Heere

Fig. 2. This and fig. 1 (opposite) show water-colours of south Baffin Island Eskimos by John White, probably 1577.

(fig. 3) which is inscribed *Homme sauuage amene des pais Septentrionaux par M. Furbisher L'an 1576*. The accounts of the capture of the 'Cathay' man and woman (as they called the Eskimos, thinking them Asian) on the second voyage agree in essential details. And, like the captive of the previous year, on reaching England they created a considerable stir. Before their pathetic and inevitable death within a short time of Frobisher's return, they were much painted and drawn. On the return voyage, the Eskimo man had been shown "the picture of his countreyman, which ye last yeare was brought into Eng-

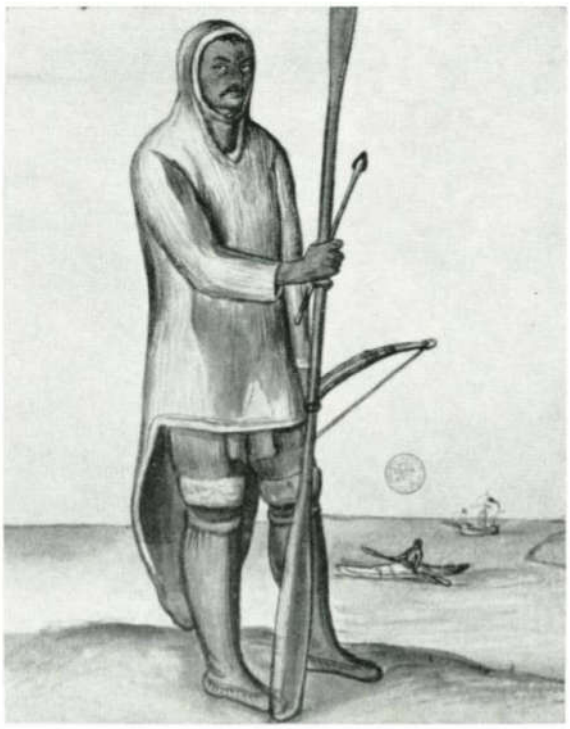


Fig. 3. Eskimo brought back by Frobisher in 1576, wash drawing by the Flemish artist de Heere, then living in England. The University Library of Ghent.

land (whose counterfet we had drawne, with boate, and other furniture, both as he was in his own, and also in his English aparell) he was upon the suddayne muche amazed therat. . . ." There are records of payment to the Netherlandish artist, Cornelis Ketel, for various portraits of the man—in large and in miniature, in his own costume, in English dress, and naked.

At Hampton Court there once hung a painting of the man and woman, no doubt originally made for Queen Elizabeth, and last recorded in James II's collection. The Cathay Company also commissioned portraits. All these paintings have disappeared. White's portraits, in the same way, would have been made on English soil, but the existence of another drawing (fig. 4) suggests that the artist himself may have been a member of Frobisher's expedition of 1577. It is in an album of copies of known drawings by White and of others which have not survived in their original form, and shows a fight between Eskimos and a boatload of Englishmen on an inlet of the sea covered with ice-floes. The Eskimos, from the top of a cliff, are using bows and arrows to shoot at the Englishmen who are replying with musket fire. There are more Eskimos shown in kayaks and ashore near their tents. Although this drawing is not by White's own hand, it is clearly an early copy of his work (perhaps about 1610) and, like the original Eskimo portraits, carries the marks of authenticity. The ice-floes, kayaks, dress and tents of the Eskimos and other natural and ethnological details can hardly be a reconstruction of some incident which the artist was asked to illustrate at second hand. It is more likely that White was actually there and recorded the incident as he remembered it. This theory is made more convincing by the existence of a narrative description of an incident which the drawing could well illustrate. There are two important accounts of Frobisher's second voyage, by George Best and Dionise Settle. Both describe the same event but Settle's narrative comes closer to the details of the drawing:

"At our coming back again to the place where their tents were before, they had removed their tents further into the said bay or sound, where they might, if they were driven from the land, flee with their boats into the sea. We . . . came suddenly upon them by land; who espying us, without any tarrying fled to their boats . . . and rowed down the bay, where our two pinnaces met them and drove them ashore . . . When they were landed, they fiercely assaulted our men with their bows and arrows, who wounded three of them with our arrows and perceiving themselves thus hurt, they desperately leaped off the rocks into the sea and drowned themselves; the rest perceiving their fellows in this distress, fled into the high mountains. The women not being so apt to escape as the men were, the one for her age, and the other being incumbered with a young child, we took. The old wretch . . . we let go. The young woman and child we brought away. We named the place where they were slain Bloody Point."*

Settle's account was also published in Latin, Italian(?), French and German, the last two editions of 1578 and 1580 respectively, containing woodcuts of Eskimo life as described in the narrative, showing their dress, their tents, how they hunted waterfowl, and how they used dog-sledges on land and kayaks on water. A glance at these two woodcuts (figs. 5 and 6), which are substantially similar but differ in a number of the smaller details,

Fig. 5

These woodcuts illustrating Settle's account of Frobisher's second voyage show slight variations in depicting Eskimo life. Fig. 5 appears in the French edition of 1578. The more ornate fig. 6 is in the German edition published in 1580.

* Reprinted from Hakluyt by John Pinkerton in *Voyages and Travels* (1812).

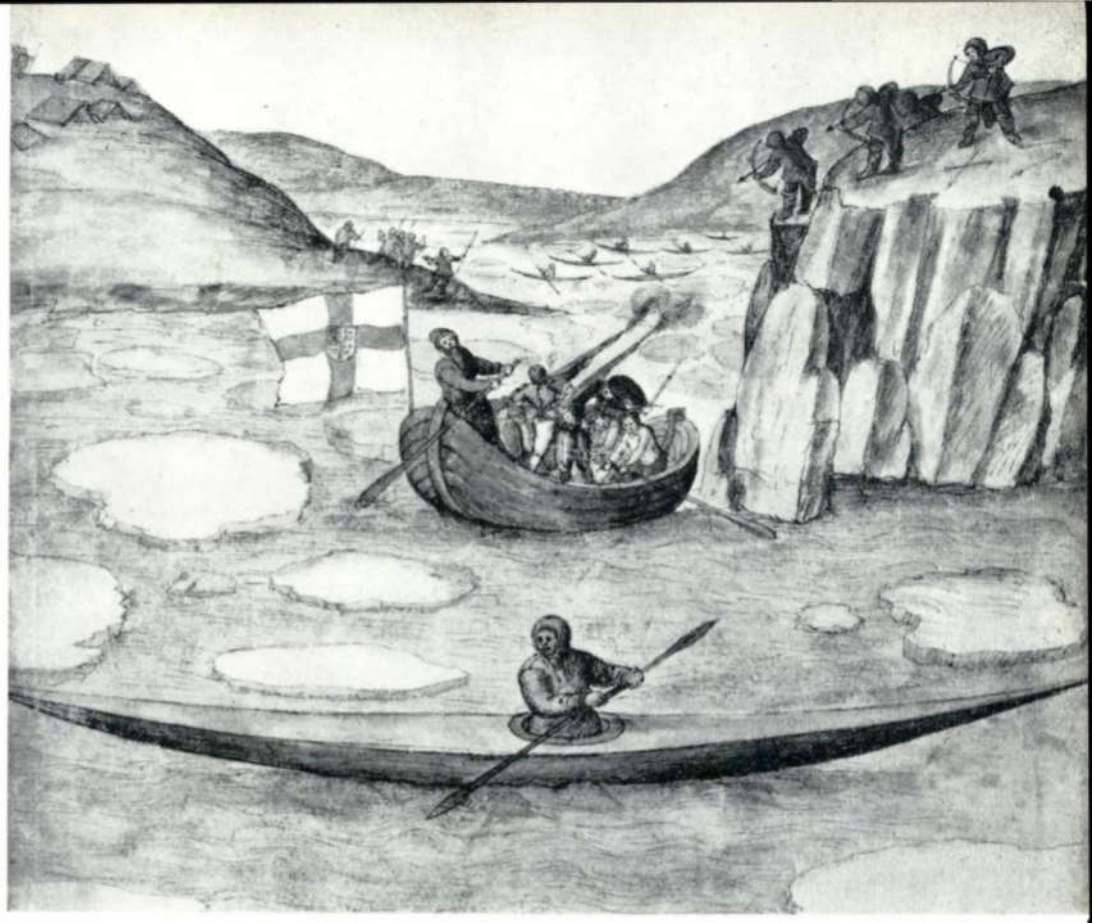


Fig. 4. Fight between Englishmen and Eskimos, after John White. Drawing in pen and water-colour. It is possible that White saw this incident on Frobisher's second voyage.

immediately establishes their connection with John White's portrait studies and the battle scene. The former are echoed in the standing Eskimos and the latter in the Eskimo paddling his kayak. The English(?) artist responsible for the prototype of these woodcuts must have had access to White's drawings or to engravings after them. That there were other original figure studies by White, or variants, is shown by the small group of copies (figs. 7-9), to which reference has already been made, found in the same album. These differ from the original portraits not only in the detail already mentioned but also in a number of other particulars. The man (fig. 9) is shown in reverse and holds a paddle as well as a bow (like De Heere's Eskimo of fig. 3 but again in reverse). The view of him seen from behind (fig. 7) does not exist in its original form. The woman (fig. 8) is close in her pose to White's original, but the decorative feature of insertions of light fur at the neck do not appear nor the well observed details of the cord connecting the belt with the drawstring at the neck.

It is reasonable to suppose that there also once existed original drawings by White of kayaks, dog-sledges,

Fig. 6

Fig 7

Fig. 8

These drawings of Eskimos in pen and water-colours, after John White, show variations in detail from figs. 1 and 2. Fig. 7, almost identical in outline to fig. 9, is the only back view.

Fig. 9

tents, harpoons, and other details, perhaps as important for the ethnology of these Baffin Islanders as White's later drawings of Indians of North Carolina are for the study of those Algonkian tribes which became extinct two centuries ago. All that remains of White's Eskimo studies is the small uneven collection described here. The portraits did not entirely escape at least one important artist who, in the manner of the time, attempted to symbolize the new discoveries. Marcus Gheeraerts, court painter to Queen Elizabeth, designed a set of engravings of the Continents. At the foot of his plate of America, together with Brazilians and other native figures and birds, are two Eskimos,* part of their costume misunderstood, but recognizably the same as those here described. Gheeraerts died in England in 1604 and may well have seen White's drawings. This particular print probably had a wider circulation than all the rest of White's Eskimo material. But the images of his Eskimos seem to have spread no further. A very long period of time was to elapse before a graphic record of the same importance was made of these northern peoples.◆

* Shown on Contents page, by courtesy of Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

BY W. A. KENYON
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OLD FORT ALBANY RELICS

Spring and side plates from flintlock gun.

IN the spring of 1960, the Ontario Department of Travel & Publicity sent a small party of archaeologists to the west side of James Bay, under the direction of the writer who was loaned by the Royal Ontario Museum, University of Toronto. The purpose of the expedition was to investigate a site on the south shore of the Albany River, very close to its mouth. This site has long been known to the residents of Fort Albany as "The Old House," and was believed to be the location of one of the early forts built in the area by the Hudson's Bay Company.

The site is located on the south bank of Fishing Creek, a branch of the Albany, directly opposite the wharf at the radar station on Anderson Island. Our first casual inspection left us in no doubt whatever as to the nature of the site. A clearly defined moat surrounded a level central area about 90 feet square; depressions within the central area suggested the location of cellars whose walls had long since collapsed; and concentrations of bricks marked the spots where chimneys had fallen many years before. This could only be an early fort. In fact, there is good reason to believe that the Fishing Creek site marks the location of the second Fort Albany. This, in all probability, was built in 1688 and occupied till 1721.

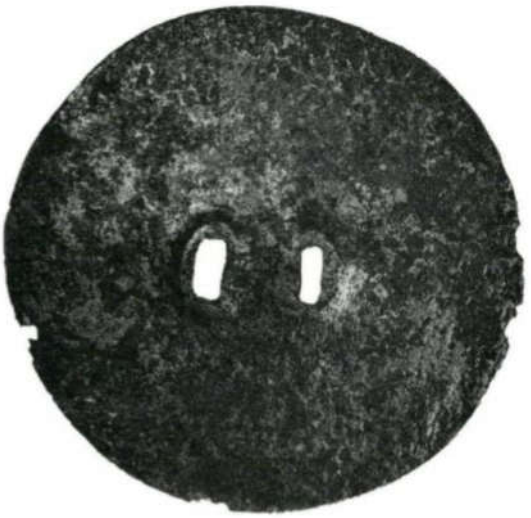
Our first visit to the old fort was an exciting event. We had left Toronto by train, had changed to an aircraft at Cochrane, and now, finally, were travelling up Fishing Creek in an enormous freight canoe. Our guide directed us to a spot on the south shore. Climbing eagerly up a steep bank, he led us along a short path through the bush, and stopped at the edge of a trench about four feet deep and twenty feet across. "That," he said, "is the west moat." At first sight, it was not too impressive. Yet it was obviously a man-made feature. And it must have been made—and abandoned—a great many years previously because some fairly large trees were growing in the bottom of the trench. Although our view of the site was obscured by dense patches of underbrush, we were able to see that the moat enclosed a rectangular area, and that bastions had probably been located at each corner of the enclosure.

A soft spongy layer of decaying vegetation covered the site. When this was cleared from a small area we discovered a level floor of hard packed clay, thickly strewn with battered fragments of European flint. Here too, the first specimens were found—parts of a flint-lock gun, several gun-flints, glass beads, hand wrought iron nails, broken kaolin pipes and a small cannon-ball. We extended this small cleared area, slowly exposing more of the clay floor, till our excavation was about ten feet square.

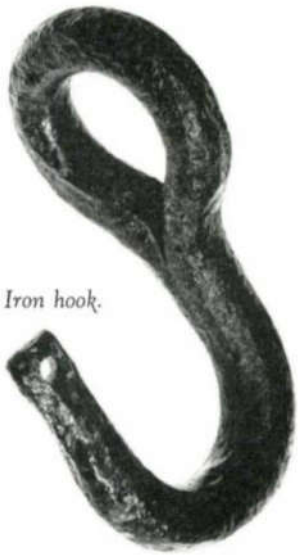
Then, in the northwest corner of our test pit, we made a most exciting discovery. We found the ends of two logs neatly morticed together, forming a right angle. Protruding from the upper surface of the joint was the head of a large iron spike. Following each of the logs for a short distance, we found that they were set into the hard

Photographs courtesy Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

Caulking iron(?), chisels, and punch.



Sword guard, $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches diameter.



Iron hook.

packed clay floor, and were in a remarkably good state of preservation. We had located the southeast corner of a building. At this stage in our investigations—and for the first time—we knew with reasonable certainty that it would be possible to obtain a relatively accurate and complete ground-plan of the entire fort.

Although we have barely scratched the surface, certain observations regarding the old fort can already be made. Whoever built it chose a good defence position on a bluff which rises about 32 feet above the waters of Fishing Creek. The fort was laid out with great precision and symmetry, suggesting that its builder was at least acquainted with military engineering, and was probably experienced at that science. For example, the site was almost certainly laid out by compass, facing due north, rather than simply aligned with the river bank.

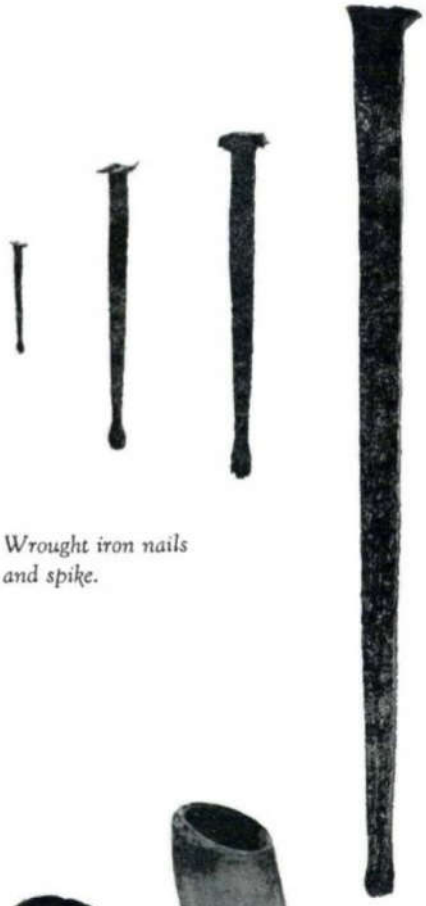
After clearing the area, the builders carried in clay which is plentiful in the lower Albany, and built a level platform as a foundation for their fort. This platform must have been carefully levelled with instruments because we found, after taking elevation readings in several widely scattered spots, that there was a difference in elevation of less than three inches.

The most numerous objects found at the fort were hand wrought nails and spikes. These occur in a variety of sizes ranging from two to sixteen inches in length. Next in order of frequency were fragments of kaolin pipes, the white, long-stemmed pipes

Roof tile, $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches long.

Nodules of European flint.

Cast iron fragment.



Wrought iron nails and spike.

usually known today as "churchwardens." Wood-chisels, cold-chisels and both flat and triangular files were found and were remarkably modern in appearance; almost identical tools can be purchased in any hardware store today. Roof-tiles and bricks occur in large numbers. The roof-tiles appear to be associated with the structure we found on the northern edge of the compound; the bricks seem to be scattered mainly along the southern edge of the compound. Here too, was found a large portion of what was probably a cast iron oven door, although it may prove to be a fire-back, or ornamental iron plaque sometimes placed in the back of a fire-place.

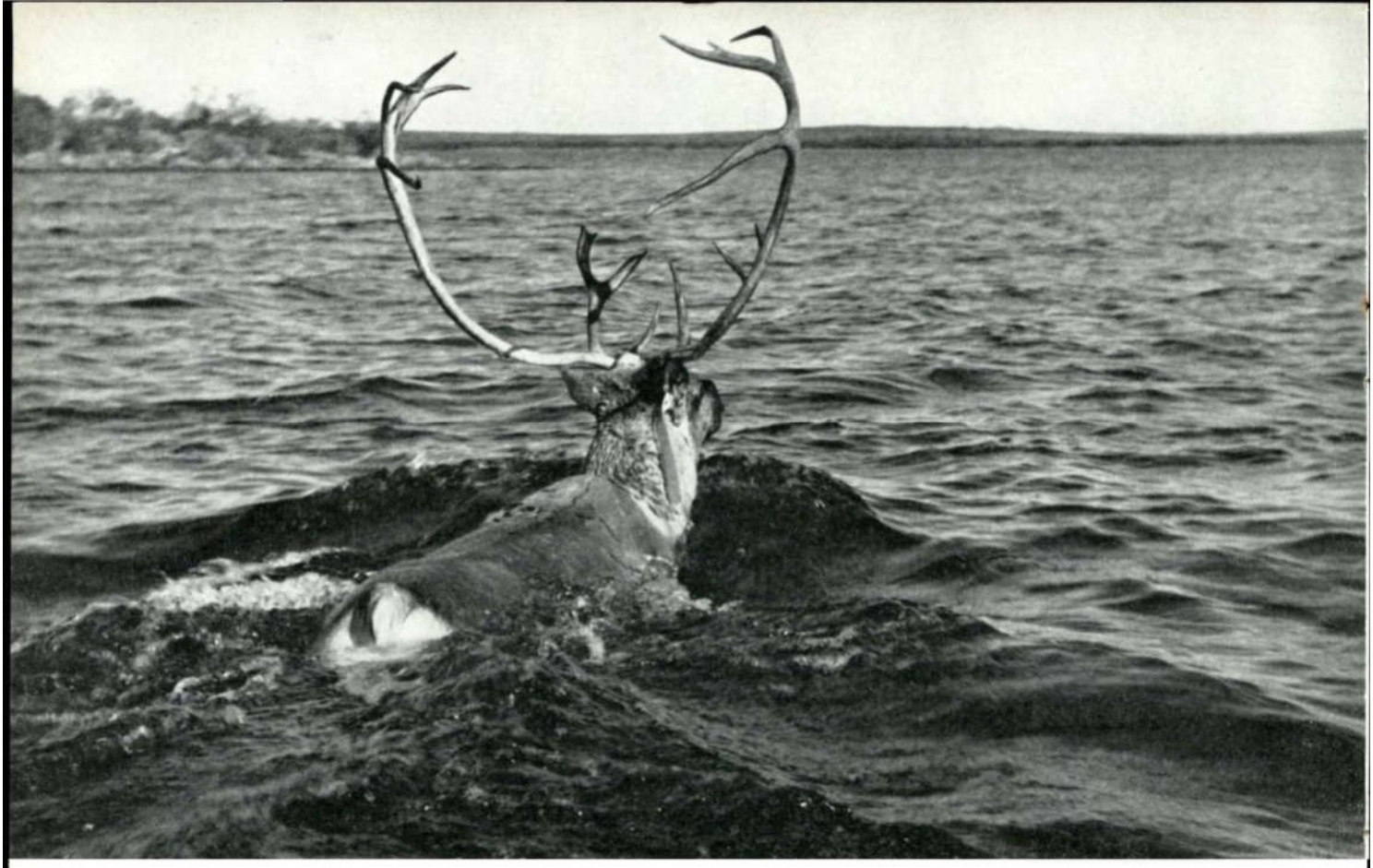
Tangible souvenirs of the many battles fought at Albany were also found. Just outside the southeast corner of the structure mentioned previously we found four cannon-balls and a portion of an exploded grenade. The cannon-balls were 2-pound and 4-pound shot, measuring $1\frac{3}{4}''$ and $2\frac{5}{8}''$ in diameter respectively. The grenade fragment, also fashioned from cast-iron, was part of a hollow sphere with short iron spikes projecting from its outer surface. Fragments from flint-lock guns, together with musket-balls and gun-flints may also be souvenirs of battle, although we would expect to find at least a few of these around any early trading post.

Arrangements have already been made to complete the excavation of the fort. Work will begin in August under the joint auspices of the Royal Ontario Museum and the Ontario Department of Travel & Publicity.

Clay pipes.

Shot and exploded grenades.

Gun flints.



CARIBOU TAGGING

BY J. D. ROBERTSON

THE barren-ground caribou, better known to the people of our north as "deer," have from time immemorial been the main source of food and clothing for many Indians and Eskimos who live in the more frigid part of Canada. So important are the caribou that even today their failure to appear where expected on spring or fall migration can create serious hardship and even starvation for the hardy northerners. During the early 1940s for reasons not fully known but probably relating to condition of the winter range, the caribou wintering in Manitoba moved much farther south and east than at any time in recent history. A very much heavier kill resulted from their appearance near more and larger northern settlements. Provincial officials became concerned: there was an evident need for conservation measures and a need also to learn more about the species throughout their entire Canadian range.

Following representations on the plight of the caribou made by Manitoba at the Federal-Provincial Wildlife Conference in 1947 a co-operative research and management program was commenced and has been in progress since that time. Officials at the conference agreed that a preliminary survey should be made to obtain population estimates and other basic management information.* The 1949 aerial survey showed an estimated population of 670,000 caribou between Hudson Bay and the Mackenzie valley. By 1955 serious losses were being reported by field officers and a re-survey showed an estimated population of only 277,000 caribou. Loss of 393,000 animals in the short period of six years was good reason for the game managers' alarm!

To co-ordinate much of the caribou conservation work being carried out by several agencies at this time two committees were formed. The Administrative Barren-

Mr. Robertson, Senior Game Officer for Northern Manitoba, devised the method of tagging caribou adopted in the current research project and has been in charge of its operation in the Duck Lake region. Photographs courtesy Manitoba Game Branch.

**The Caribou Crisis.* A. W. F. Banfield. Beaver, Spring 1956.

ground Caribou Conservation Committee, was made up of senior officers of provincial game departments, the Canadian Wildlife Service, Indian and Northern Affairs, and the R.C.M.P. The junior committee was named the Technical Committee for Caribou Preservation. Game men and technicians with field officers from the various sources composed this committee. It met once a year to discuss caribou conservation and prepare recommendations for the Administrative Committee on the following year's program.

By 1959 every effort had been made to bring a halt to the downward trend through wolf control, prevention of feeding caribou meat to dog teams, and reduced human utilization. More knowledge of the habits of the caribou was needed. One way to obtain this would be by numerous marked animals.

It has been long established that caribou exist in herds and not as randomly scattered individuals and that they undertake annual migrations south in the fall and north in the spring. There is a short summer migration south

A small herd swims in a close group.

to the tree line in August and north again in September. There is also an east-west movement. The desire to obtain facts and broaden knowledge on these and other subjects was responsible for earlier tagging efforts and for the experiment at Duck Lake, Manitoba, in September 1959.

Caribou biologists have either considered or tried all conventional trapping methods on barren-ground caribou. None of the usual techniques has been found practical because of various factors which include remoteness of range, climatic conditions, and the animals' habits. Immobilizing with tranquilizers shot from a gun and corralling and catching calves have been successful on a necessarily limited scale. A method was needed that would produce a large number of marked caribou with a reasonable expenditure of effort.

At the November 1958 annual meeting of the Technical Committee, the subject of marking adequate numbers of barren-ground caribou was thoroughly discussed and its urgency stressed. Several suggestions were put forward, mine being that, using a canoe, caribou be tagged at water crossings. A few years previously I had watched Indians spearing caribou in the water at Duck Lake crossing and I felt that if the same technique could be applied, using a marking device instead of a spear the problem would be solved. The Administrative Committee approved an experimental tagging program. The test was to be carried out at Duck Lake, 125 miles northwest of Churchill in northern Manitoba, at the time when barren-ground caribou could be expected at that point during late summer or early fall of 1959. The Wildlife Service and Indian Affairs would co-operate in this test water crossing technique.

A rough plan was then drafted for the actual project. Certain equipment and men would be necessary, departure date for Duck Lake had to be set well in advance to permit aircraft and personnel to be gathered at The Pas on a specified departure date. Preliminary work had begun on the selection of a suitable ear tag. It was desirable, if possible, to mark the animals so they could be recognized from a distance either from the ground or air.

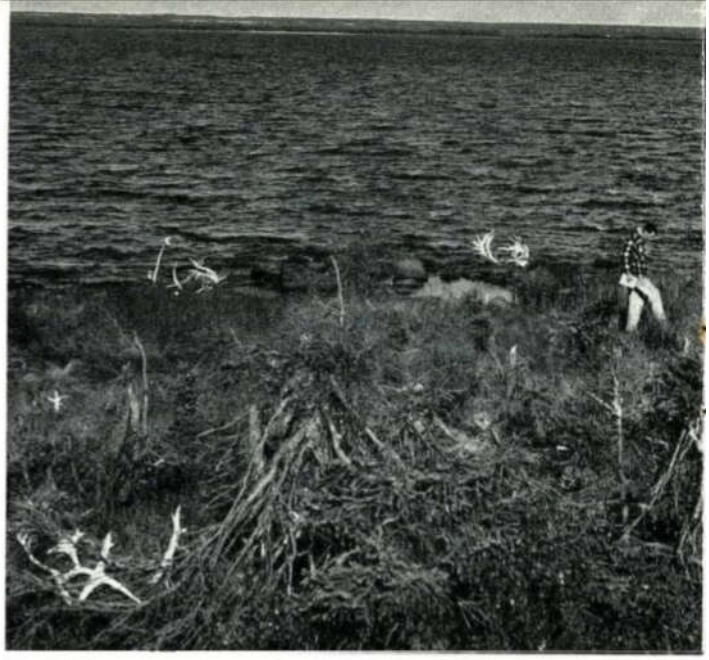
After discussion with Ian McEwen, Canadian Wildlife Senior Biologist at Yellowknife and Eugene Bossenmaier, Senior Game Biologist for Manitoba, we decided on a common cattle ear tag. Attached to the tag would be a double 8 inch by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch yellow streamer, attached through a hole punched in the folded end of the streamer. The streamer material is described as a nylon fabric base coated with a poly-vinyl chloride film. Preliminary cold temperature tests were carried out on the material at the University of Manitoba at -60° F. Some stiffening was noted but no apparent damage was produced by frequent sharp twisting and bending. We felt satisfied with the marking device.

In mid-August, with G. W. Malaher, Director of Game for the Province of Manitoba, and Dr. I. R. Gabrielson, noted biologist from the U.S. a special flight was made to northern Manitoba to inspect the barren-ground caribou winter range. As we planned to spend a day at Duck Lake, Manitoba, Malaher and I decided to test our ability to capture and hold a caribou in the water. We had with us a 5 h.p. outboard motor, and an old 18-foot canoe at Duck Lake was patched to make it seaworthy.

An over-sized shepherd's crook was improvised from part of an old dog toboggan and a broom handle. Malaher had also prepared an ear tag from an over-sized staple and had this tied to a pair of pliers ready to be applied to the first caribou that was captured.

On arrival at the crossing situated some three miles north of the Hudson's Bay Company's abandoned Caribou Post, we concealed ourselves and waited. After half an hour not a caribou had challenged us by swimming this favoured water crossing nor could one be spotted on the far shore. Climbing a nearby hill we saw from the summit two caribou on a small island half a mile north of the crossing. Both caribou carried very large racks of antlers and even from a distance did not look like the mild type we should have chosen to test the technique, especially from a leaky old canoe. As it seemed unlikely there would be other caribou in the water this day, we decided to tackle the two bulls. They were readily chased from the island and after a short run with the canoe the caribou were within reach. Malaher, wielding the crook, hooked one of the beasts by the neck. A mighty heave to bring him alongside served only to break the crook and the caribou swerved away from the canoe. It was necessary to manoeuvre in close several times before the quickly dodging caribou could be grasped by the antlers and held to the side of the canoe. The tag was applied to the ear but unfortunately broke on application. The caribou apparently resented this treatment and with a lurch took off for places more peaceful, kicking a large quantity of water down the open shirt of his tormentor as he departed. This little test demonstrated that it was possible to catch and hold the swimming caribou, and, with a good canoe, larger motor and a good crook, it was felt such a program would have a reasonable chance of success.

The crew of four had collected at The Pas equipment and food for a ten-day trip. The equipment consisted of two outboard motors, one ten horsepower and one five horsepower, life jackets for everyone, two six-foot crooks with handles made of one-inch oak and crooks formed from half-inch iron rod, and an 18-foot wide-stern canoe, fibre-glass covered. On 7 September the crew, with photographer and pilot took off in a Manitoba government Otter aircraft from The Pas to determine whether large numbers of caribou could be tagged at water crossings. They landed, 450 miles north, at the Caribou Post buildings at Duck Lake which the Hudson's Bay Company had made available to the party. The location and the buildings made this a most suitable and comfortable place from which to work. As their contribution to the caribou research program the H B C later made a gift of the Caribou Post buildings to the Province of Manitoba.



Duck Lake crossing, site of the Indian autumn kill.

The crook in use.

With the arrival of the 18-foot canoe and gasoline, which had been shipped part way by rail and brought in on an extra flight, the party was ready for action. The ten h.p. motor was mounted on the wide-stern canoe. This was to be the tagging canoe. The old Duck Lake canoe was patched up again for use to herd the caribou in the water and act as a life boat should the tagging crew have trouble with some boisterous bull.

In the tagging canoe the six-foot crook, and a quantity of ear tags, streamers, and pliers to attach the tags were carried. Crook and pliers were tied by long, sturdy cords to the canoe in case they were dropped overboard.

The crossing some three miles north of Caribou Post was selected for the first real test of our techniques. At this crossing natives had in the past speared thousands

of caribou—the shore was littered with their bones. Blinds made by the Indians were repaired and the crew concealed themselves and waited for the caribou.

Though scattered caribou could be seen, it was not until sundown that four cow caribou entered the crossing. By this time the crew in the old canoe had returned to base for supper. Three men were left with the tagging canoe but one of them had wandered away from the blind. As the caribou rapidly approached the shore, the two men cast off and with not too much difficulty ear-tagged three of the animals. The crook worked very well in making a rapid capture of the fast swimming caribou. During the next nine days the crew were successful in tagging 112 barren-ground caribou, becoming more efficient all the time. The best method proved to be with three men in the tagging canoe, one acting as catcher, another as tagger, and one running the motor. This way they could almost tag a caribou each minute when a herd was caught in a suitable water crossing. The crew learnt there was little to be feared from the swimming caribou and they could be quickly captured and tagged without injuring the animal or endangering the men. That large numbers of caribou could be tagged at water crossings there was no doubt. The only requisite would be for a crew to be located at a good water crossing when it was used by a large migrating herd. This was all that had been hoped for by those who envisaged the scheme.

More than a year has passed since the 112 caribou were tagged at Duck Lake, and reports of marked caribou, though not numerous, are encouraging.

During the following winter four marked caribou were reported seen at separate points ranging from 100 to 150 miles southwest of Duck Lake. In August 1960 an ear tag with a streamer still attached was turned in at Rankin Inlet by Tagumiak, an Eskimo hunter who reported killing the caribou at Pangertot Peninsula, approximately 275 miles north-northeast of where the animal had been tagged, almost a year before. In February this year two tagged caribou were picked up in the Misty Lake area about 200 miles due west of the tagging point. This is the beginning of the movement data the marked animals will provide.

In September 1960 two tagging crews which included Chipewyan and Cree Indians tagged 226 barren-ground caribou at Duck Lake, but the summer migration there was very limited and only one sizeable herd was encountered. Three times as many animals could have been marked for the operation was done quickly and one crew tagged 36 caribou in approximately 25 minutes. Three of these caribou have been accounted for. In February one was killed north of Churchill, eastwards of Duck Lake, and in January a cow and calf that had been tagged at the same time were identified together 120 miles west-northwest of the tagging site.

The fate of the caribou hangs in the balance. Though in the last three seasons good calf crops have been produced, the kill is still approximately equal to the annual reproduction. Until the kill is sufficiently reduced to allow a reasonable annual increase there can be no relaxation of the caribou conservation programs. ◆

Caribou held against canoe by J. D. Robertson while it is tagged

The finished canoe, from the bow.

Carving a Kwakiutl Canoe

A STORY IN PICTURES BY BILL HOLM

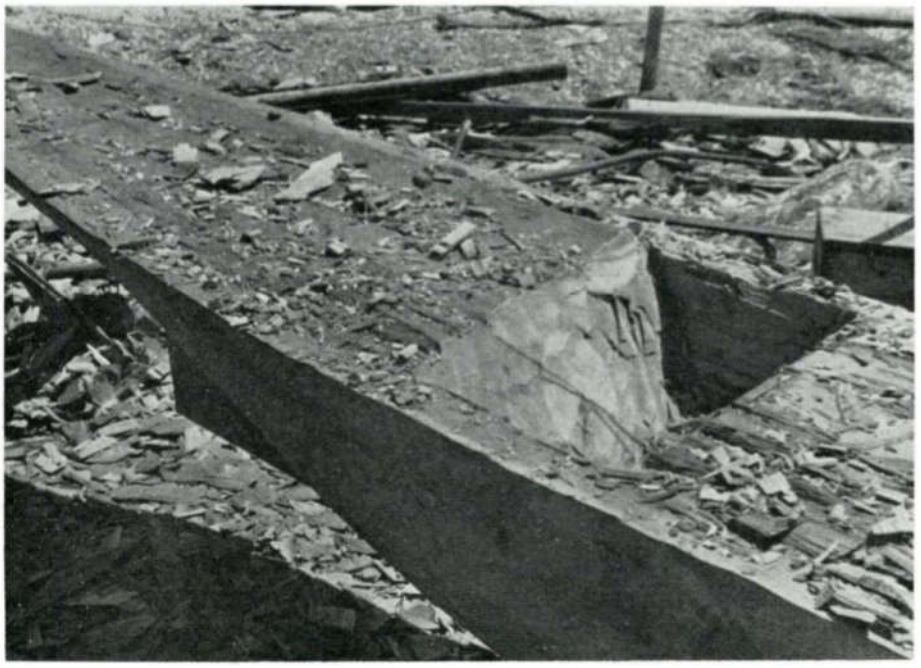
In 1908 George Hunt, the son of an Alaskan Tlinkit mother and an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Rupert on Vancouver Island, recorded a detailed description of the making of a canoe by a Nakoaktoq Indian of Blunden Harbour. The information was taken in Kwakwallah, the native language, and translated into English by Hunt for the use of the famous anthropologist Dr. Franz Boas. It was part of the great mass of Kwakiutl ethnographic material which George Hunt gathered for Dr. Boas and was published (in both Kwakwallah and English) the following year in a Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History, *The Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island*. Half a century later this account of the canoe maker's methods became the blueprint for a four-fathom cedar canoe.

An art teacher with the Seattle public schools, Bill Holm has had a life-long interest in the Indians of the northwest coast, particularly the Kwakiutl with whom he has been closely associated. This interest led to his spending a summer on Lopez, one of the San Juan Islands, carving a dugout, following step by step the Kwakiutl directions and photographing the process. The canoe Mr. Holm made is similar to the larger ones shown in his painting on the cover. The stone hammers used in the construction are old Indian pieces, one of them found on Lopez Island; the adzes, of Indian type, with steel blades, Mr. Holm made himself. The wedges are modern steel ones instead of the yew wood wedges formerly used and still sometimes used. Mr. Holm uses Indian type tools not primarily in an attempt to be 'authentic' but because they have proved to be perfectly suited to the job.

The photographs of the construction of the canoe are captioned with quotations from *The Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island*, by permission of the American Museum of Natural History.

1. *As soon as he has chopped in deep enough at the thick end of the cedar, that is to be the bow of the canoe that is being made, then he measures one fathom from the outer end of the thin end of the cedar and chops into that also.*

2. As soon as he gets in far enough, he brings it to a point. And after he has done so, he goes to the opposite side of the stern and does the same to it. As soon as both ends have been brought to a point, the canoe builder tries to make both sides alike from end to end.

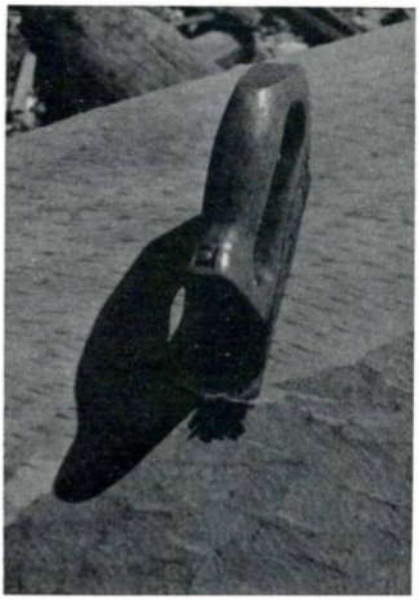


4. As soon as he has done so [turned and braced it] he measures one fathom and a half from the bow of the canoe, and he chops out blocks, this way—

3. Then h
he chops
form in u

5. As soon as the
As soon as all the

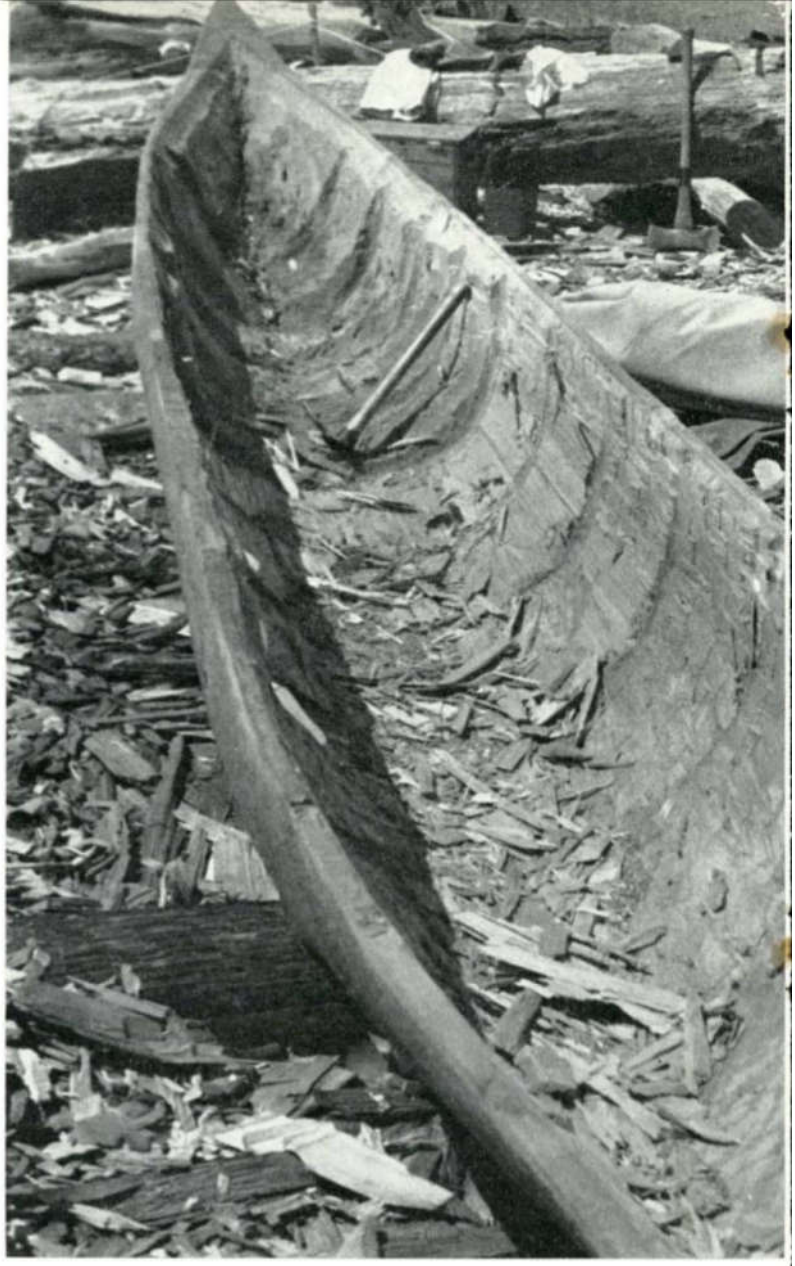
e turns over the canoe so that it lies bottom up . . .
ff under the stern . . . he chops off all the sap. . . . Then the
nich it is makes it clear that it is to be a canoe.



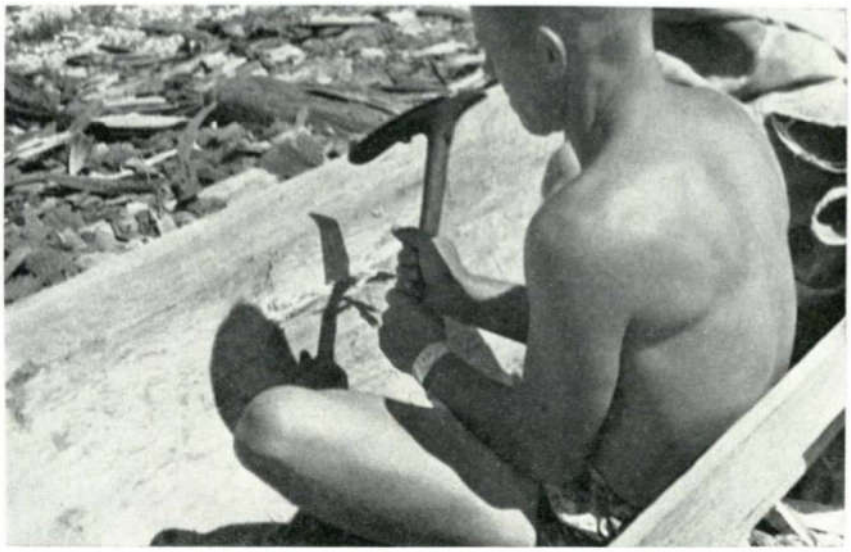
6. He puts away his long-handled adze and takes his hand-adze to give it the fine adzing. . . . Then he drills 47 holes all over the outside.

locks that he is chopping are deep, then he chops slanting down, beginning at the bow. . .
wedges have been put on, he drives in each one with his canoe-builder's hammer.

7. As he comes to a drill-hole with his adzing [inside] he pushes his shortest measure into the drill-hole, and he puts his first finger against the hole from outside at the place where his measure will come out. As soon as he feels its point he stops adzing. And one finger width is the thickness at the line (one span from the gunwale).



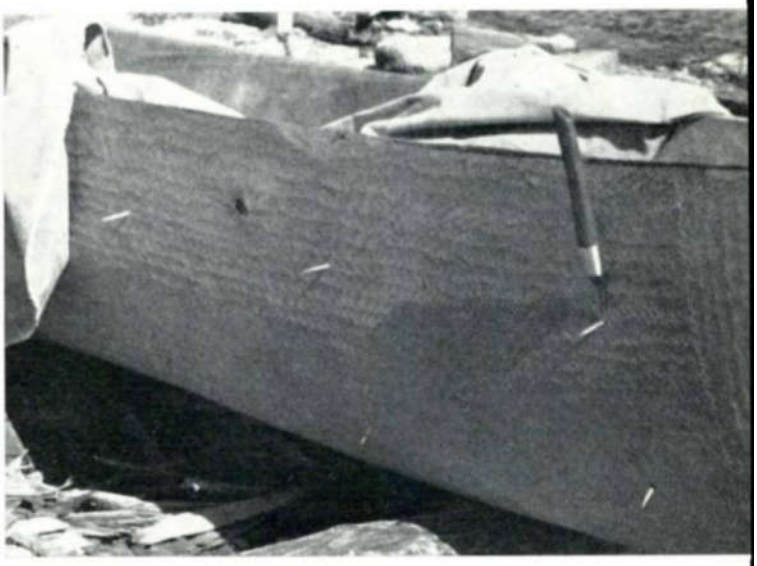
8. As soon as it has all been grooved, for that is how it is after the adzing, he adzes off again between the drill-holes . . . so that the inside becomes smooth.



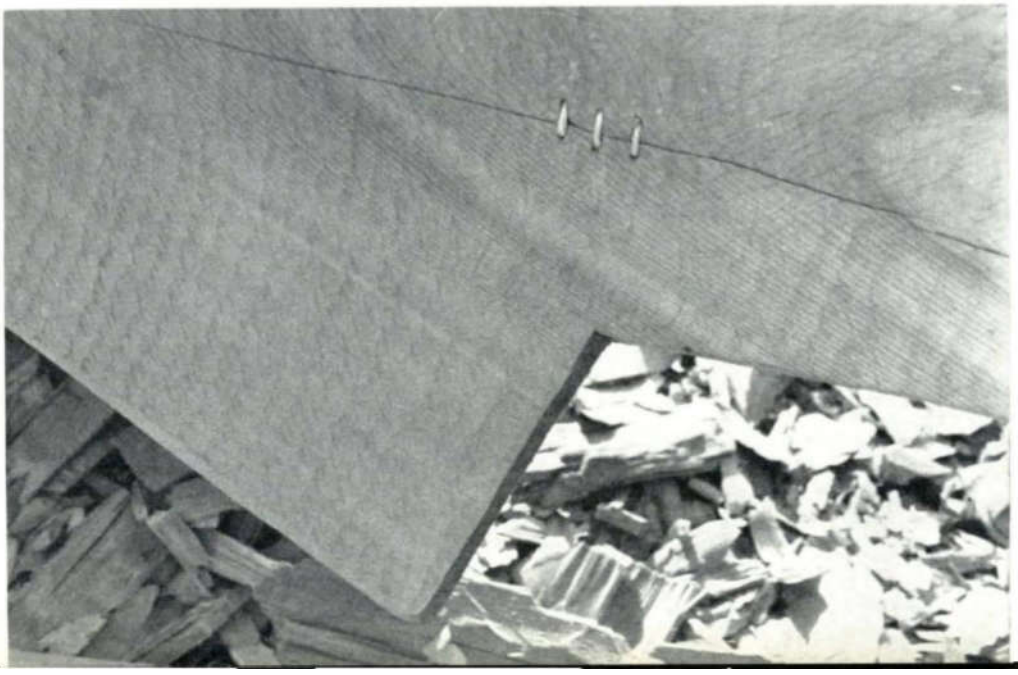
9. Then he first adzes the straight line. Its width is four finger-widths. . . . As soon as the whole inside and outside of the canoe have been adzed, he . . . takes easily splitting cedar-wood . . .

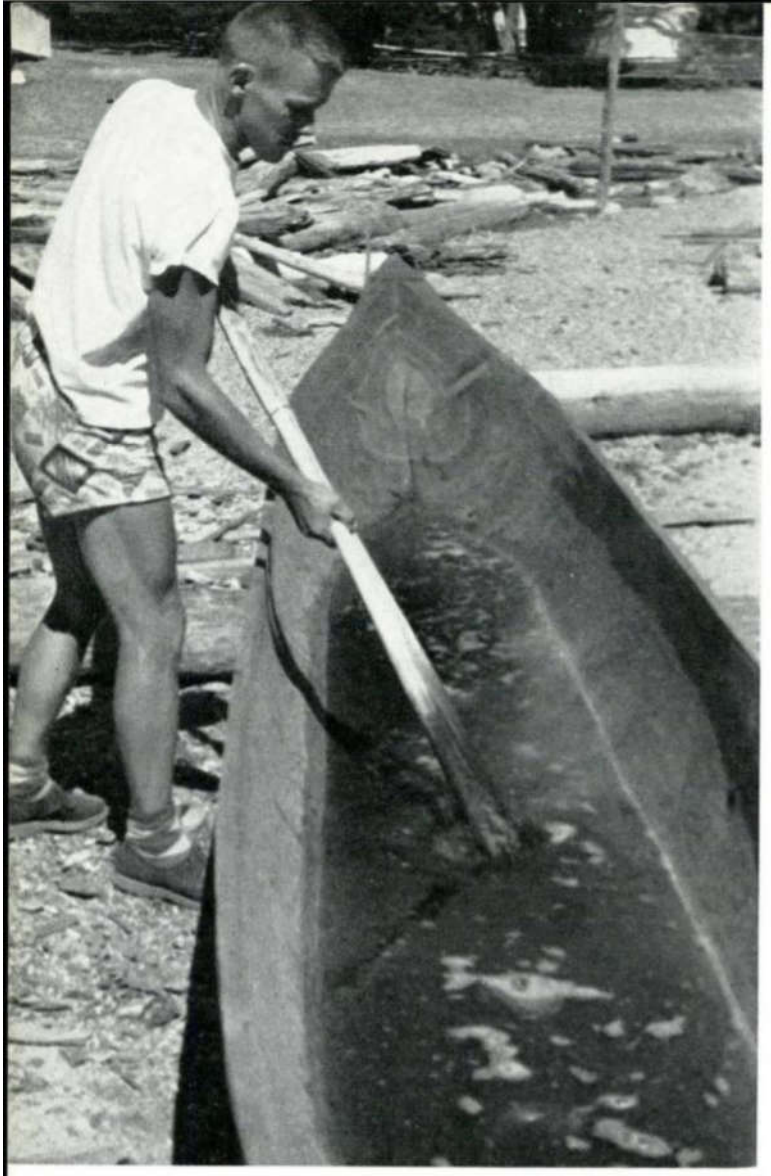
10. . . . and he takes his straight-edged knife and splits the cedar-wood into thin square pieces. He shaves one end down so it is sharp. . . . Then . . . he takes one of the closing pegs of split-cedar, and drives it into the drill-hole.

11. He drives them in with a stone. As soon as they have been driven in enough, he takes his straight-edged knife and cuts them off.

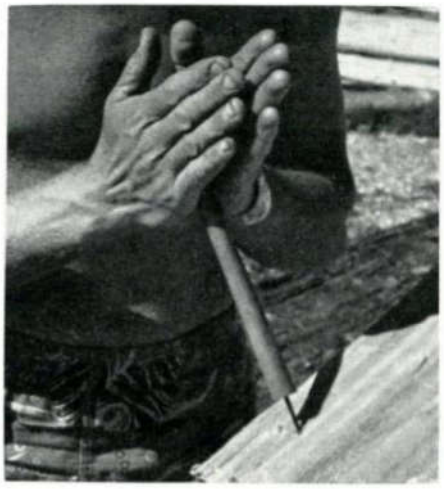


12. The simplest stitches for sewing are used in closing up cracks . . . the cedar-withes are always placed in grooves . . . so that after sewing, the surface of the board presents a smooth surface, and the stitches are protected.

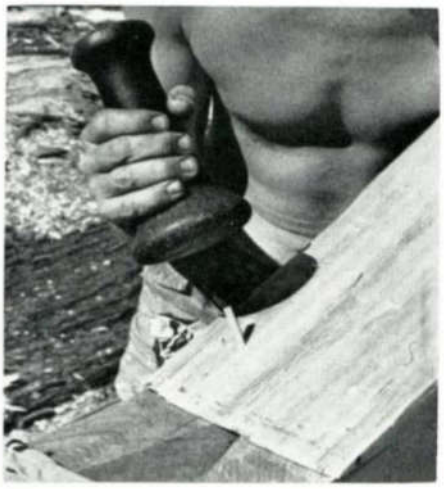




13. *He draws fresh water for the canoe that is to be spread. . . . Then he takes his tongs, picks up the red-hot stones, and puts them into the canoe. As soon as the water . . . boils up . . . he goes from one end to the other, sprinkling the inside . . . so that the heat goes really through it.*

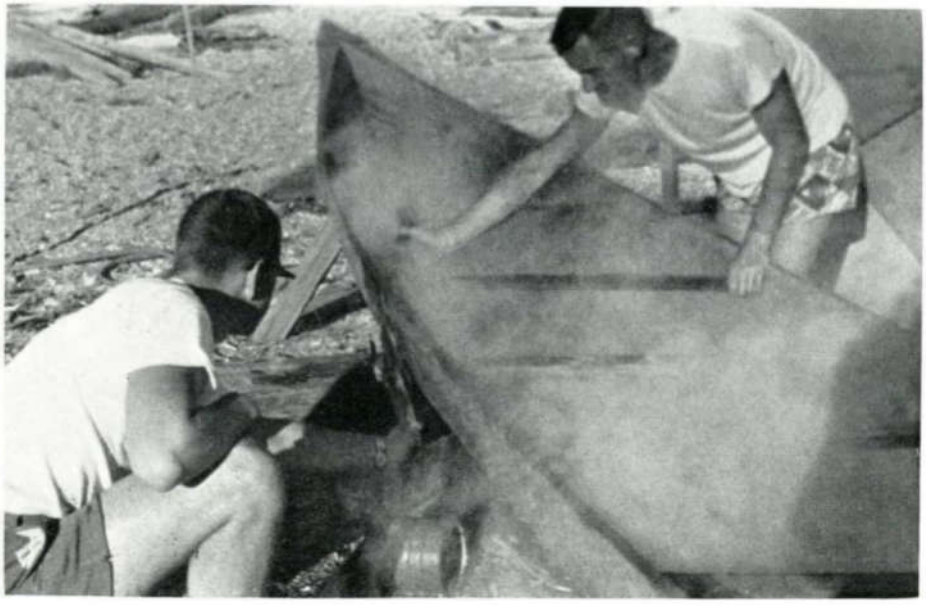


15. *He takes a block of cedar-wood. . . . It is to lie on the bow.*



16. *He drills four holes. . . . He takes pine-wood pegs and pegs them in.*

14. *Then he lights the ends of his torch and burns the bottom of the canoe. As soon as the body of the canoe is heated through, he takes the split cedar-sticks and spreads the inside. . . . That makes the canoe open, so that its back is wide.*

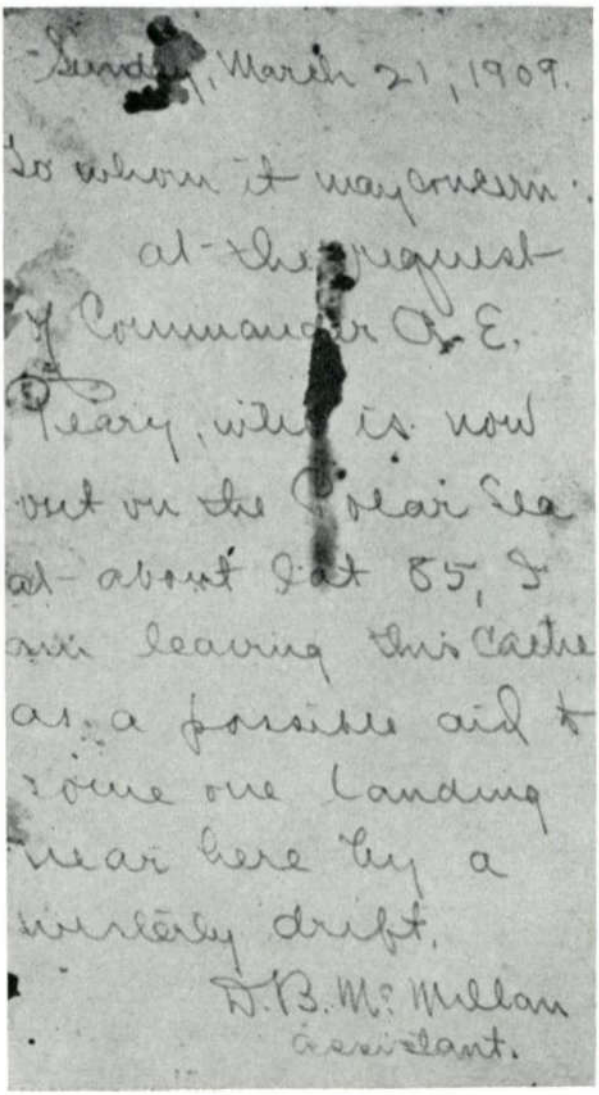


17. And he drills four holes between the bow-piece and the bow of the canoe . . . When this is done, he takes twisted cedar-withes and sews (the piece to the canoe) crosswise. When this is done he cuts a groove in it for the harpoon-shaft to rest in. When this is done, he goes to the stern to put on the stern-block, which is pegged and sewed across in the same way. But there is no groove in the stern-piece.

18. That is the end of George Hunt's instructions. The canoe has been painted and, standing in the bow wearing a Chilkat blanket, Bill Holm resembles a chief making a ceremonial arrival at a potlatch.

Don McQuade

Peary's


Sunday, March 21, 1909.
So closes it may seem.
at the request
of Commander R. E.
Peary, who is now
out on the Polar Sea
at about lat 85, I
am leaving this cache
as a possible aid to
some one landing
near here by a
westerly drift.
W. B. McMillan
Lieutenant.

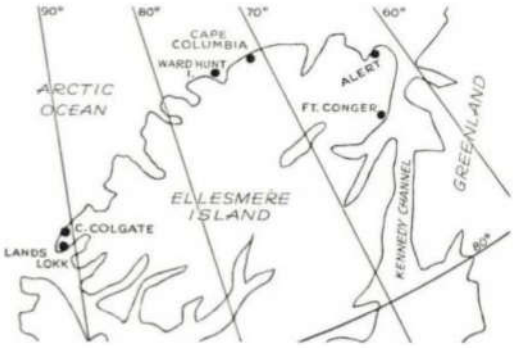
Note left by McMillan (later Admiral, USN) with cache on Ward Hunt Island when Peary was on his final polar dash.

I BECAME closely interested in the great journeys of Peary when I first visited Ellesmere Island in 1953 on investigations sponsored by the Defence Research Board. As part of our program during that year and the following year, we made a reconnaissance of the whole of the north coast of the island by dog sledge from Alert in the east to Lands Lokk in the west via Cape Columbia, that northernmost point of land from which Peary made his dash to the North Pole in 1909. Incidentally one of the Greenland Eskimos from Thule who was with us for part of the time was old enough to remember Peary. Along most of this coast we were the first to have passed since Peary, and so, in addition to coming across some of his stores and equipment, we found two records left by him in cairns and a piece of the United States flag which he carried with him on his journeys. The latter was returned to his widow, the late Mrs. R. E. Peary, to be replaced in the flag which she had made long ago. We found one of the records near Lands Lokk, and it recalled vividly Peary's return journey along the north coast to his ship, when he and his Eskimos were travelling under headlong duress at the height of the summer, with little food to sustain them on a 250-mile march over rotten ice and through treacherous melt rivers. By reason of the melt conditions and the fact that he had just returned from two months' sledging over the ice of the Arctic Ocean, this journey was as hazardous and exacting as any journey Peary made.

Even if Peary had never been within 500 miles of the North Pole, or nearer, say, than Cape Columbia, he would still have been remembered for his journeys in Ellesmere Island and north Greenland as one of the hardiest and most undaunted polar explorers in history. Drawing on twenty years of experience, Peary finally perfected a system of travel which for sheer efficiency in its use of existing resources has never been surpassed.

BY G. HATTERSLEY-SMITH

Dr. Hattersley-Smith is with the Geophysics Research Section of the Defence Research Board.



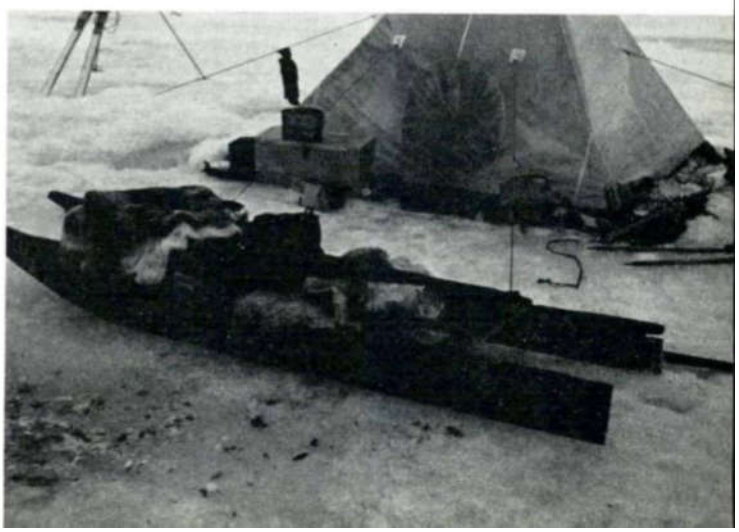
North Pole Journey

By the time of his last journey in 1909 his sledging outfit had been ruthlessly streamlined with one aim, that of achieving the maximum number of miles per day over the ice of the Arctic Ocean. His sledges, made of the best materials procurable, were modified from the north Greenland native pattern to withstand the roughest polar ice. On the shore some miles from Cape Columbia we found one of his sledges in 1954, and used it on a trip of 60 miles; it only needed new lashings.

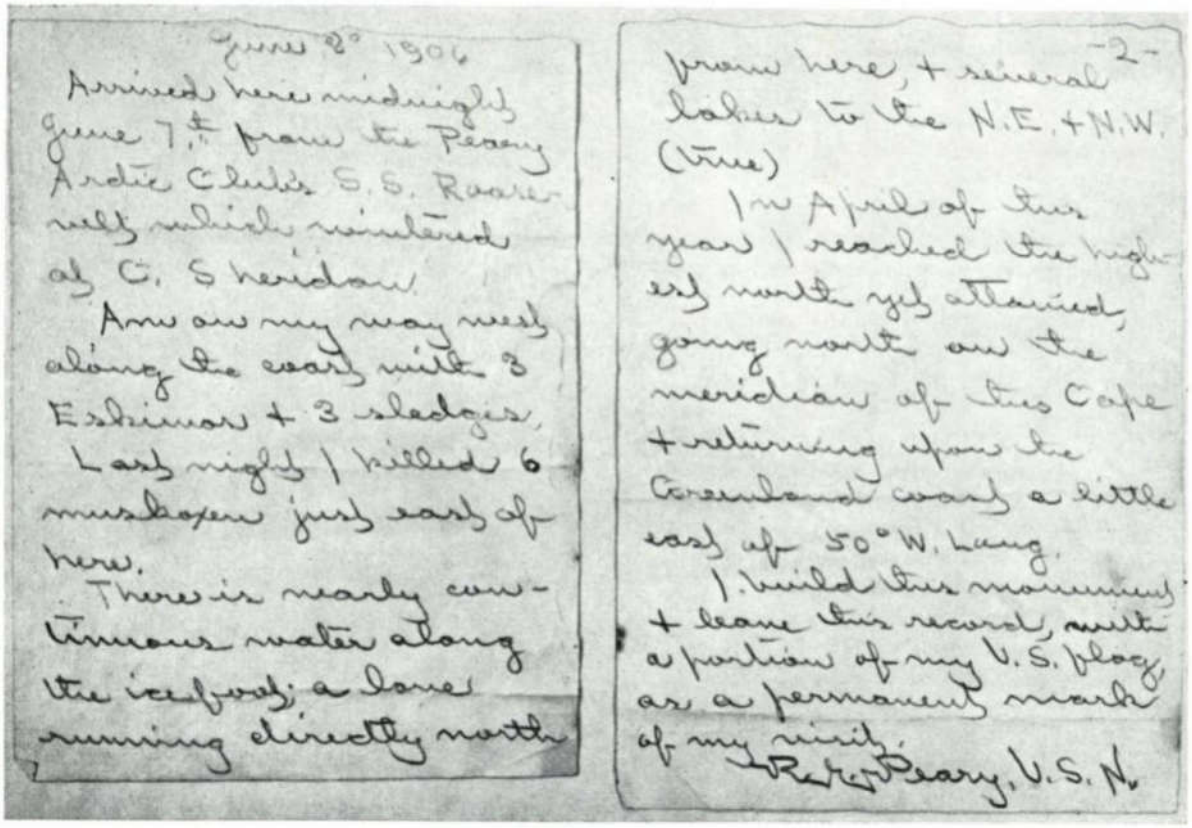
The severest ice conditions on the North Pole journey were encountered in the first fifty miles or so from land in a chaos of pressure ridges rising up to 25 or 30 feet above sea level. Here in places it was necessary to hack a trail for the sledges. For the remainder of the North Pole journey ice conditions were much less severe, although open leads in the ice gave some trouble. Peary and his men did not use sleeping bags, but slept in their bear and deer skin suits, so that they would not be caught in their bags if the pack ice broke up beneath their tent. In this way they also saved the weight of sleeping bags on the sledges. Although dogs and men were supplied by hunting parties with fresh food at winter quarters, all food was carried on the sledges away from land, where to hunt seal and polar bear, if such were available, would have wasted valuable time. Their rations in concentrated nourishment and packaging were as excellent as knowledge and ingenuity could devise. Some of their tea and pemmican we found in excellent condition forty-five years later. Peary used a minimum of fuel for cooking and scarcely any for heating only.

It is impossible in a short space even to outline the main features of the polar journey, so I will confine myself to a few points which seem important. First of all it has been argued that Peary could not have steered an accurate course by compass in these latitudes. But, although the magnetic variation is about 100° west, the

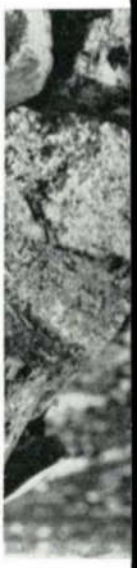
Typical polar ice in the vicinity of Cape Columbia.



Komatik left on Ward Hunt Island in 1909 that was recovered and used again in 1954.



June 8° 1906
Arrived here midnight June 7th from the Peary Arctic Club's S.S. Roosevelt which remained at C. Sheridan.
Am on my way west along the coast with 3 Eskimos + 3 sledges.
Last night I killed 6 muskoxen just east of here.
There is nearly continuous water along the ice foot; a lane running directly north from here, + several miles to the N.E. + N.W. (true)
In April of this year I reached the highest north yet attained, going north on the meridian of this Cape + returning upon the Greenland coast a little east of 50° W. Long.
I build this monument + leave this record, with a portion of my U.S. flag, as a permanent mark of my visit.
Robt. E. Peary, U.S.N.



Record left by Peary on the summit of Cooper Key Mountain, Cape Columbia, on 8 June 1906.

directional pull on the compass needle is as strong here a thousand miles north of the magnetic pole as in northern Manitoba. The amount of magnetic variation can be checked by sunshots. Of the attainment of the North Pole there could never be any concrete proof unless another party came along shortly afterwards, for the moving ice and the summer melt quickly removed all traces of the party at the Pole, as it destroyed their trail over the ice. Since the ice in the area of the North Pole was no different from any other ice in the middle of the Arctic Ocean, Peary's position for the North Pole was where within the limits of accuracy on his navigation instrument, a sextant, his observations showed a latitude of 90°. A distinguished surveyor who examined Peary's records wrote that, allowing for all possible errors, his final camp could not have been more than ten miles from the Pole, and Peary reported travelling on ten miles beyond this camp. Another surveyor found his four sights taken near the final camp perfectly consistent with his narrative.

The Peary system allowed the leader to save himself for the final spurt, and to select for that final spurt the best Eskimos and the pick of 140 dogs. This process of selection operated throughout the polar journey as each of the five support parties turned back. No critic of Peary has ever doubted that Captain Bartlett, in charge of the last support party, left his leader in latitude 87°47′. His system of travel made it perfectly possible for Peary to have covered the remaining 150 statute miles to the North Pole, and to have completed the return journey from the Pole to Cape Columbia over a prepared trail in the time stated, notwithstanding the obvious discrepancies in his published accounts of the journey and the sketchy data on daily distances covered and times on the trail. He needed to average 35 miles a day for 600 statute miles. On a forced march of this kind the sheer physical difficulty of keeping an adequate diary must have been great; the party was doing double-marches on little sleep, so that, where there was no night, a day's march might cover parts of two days or become blurred into the next day's march. When these facts are allowed for, Peary's long marches on the return journey remain certainly remarkable but by no means impossible, as his critics have suggested. Bartlett considered that from

Ootah, last Eskimo survivor of Peary's North Pole party, at his north Greenland home in 1954, the year before he died.

Sign post at Cape Columbia commemorating Peary's journeys to Greenland, Axel Heiberg Island, and the North Pole.

Peary record of 1906 in a bottle that was inserted between rocks of this cairn at Cape Colgate.

Broken sled runner, boxes and tins at site of "Crane City," Peary's 1909 advance camp at Cape Columbia.

where he left Peary "it was an easy jaunt" for him to the Pole. Bartlett himself had on one occasion covered the distance of 90 miles from Cape Columbia to his ship in a single march. From his experiences on Sverdrup's expedition, on which marches of over 70 miles were made on several occasions, Isachsen saw no reason whatever to question the length of Peary's marches.

The technicalities of Peary's last journey will continue to be debated, and the argument turned this way or that. We now know much more about the ice of the Arctic Ocean than in Peary's time; aircraft pass over the ice on his route, if not every day, certainly every week on average. But statements about the present conditions of the ice should be left out of the argument as of doubtful relevance because conditions have probably changed since Peary's time, and for the worse for the traveller over the ice. In the last analysis, leaving aside the technicalities on which experts will always disagree, a man's opinion of the North Pole journey will depend on his view of the personal integrity of Peary, simply because it would have been possible to fake the astronomical observations. Amundsen, who reached the South Pole two and a half years after the North Pole journey, wrote, "I know Peary reached the Pole. The reason I know it is that I know Peary." If Scott had not reached the South Pole a few weeks after Amundsen, we may be sure that some would have doubted the great Norwegian's priority there, for his mileages were as unprecedented in the Antarctic as Peary's in the Arctic. Amundsen averaged $22\frac{1}{2}$ miles a day on the return leg of an 1,800 mile journey, and on one occasion covered over 60 miles in a single march. Here it should be remembered that Peary, unlike Amundsen, had a special incentive to make forced marches—the need to allow the least possible time for disruption of the return trail by the movement of the pack ice.

At Thule in 1954, I met Ootah, the last survivor of the four Eskimos with Peary on the final stage of the North Pole journey; he died in 1955 aged about 80. When the polar party finally regained the landfast ice near Cape Columbia, he is reported to have sunk onto his sledge and remarked in Eskimo, "The devil is asleep or having trouble with his wife or we should never have come back so easily." Perhaps the devil was asleep, but the victory was Peary's. ◆

THE NAHANY LANDS

By R. M. PATTERSON

J. M. McLeod's exploration in 1823 and 1824
of the South Nahanni River country

A LETTER was written by Governor Simpson at Fort Chipewyan on the second of January, 1823. The letter was to Chief Trader A. R. McLeod of Mackenzie's River Forks at the junction of the Liard (soon to be called Fort Simpson), and in it the Governor said that he was sending down a new clerk, J. M. McLeod, to supersede Charles Brisbois. He went on to say that the country in general was becoming depleted in fur, ". . . and if we expect to make profits we must extend the Trade to Countries, hitherto unexplored." The Governor was particularly anxious that a communication should be opened with the Nahanis, adding: "I trust you will set every engine to work consistent with your means."

A. R. McLeod evidently lost no time, but set out there and then up the Liard to the South Nahanni—which was known then as Nahany River or "the North Branch of Riviere au Liard." The report of that winter journey is missing but there is an entry in the fort journal for the sixth of March: "Mr. Alex R. Macleod returned from his journey of discovery—which did not terminate agreeable to his wishes. . . . Mr. Macleod suffered considerably from privation—for the natives who accompanied him were no animal Hunters."

McLeod did find, however, that there was plenty of beaver in the part of the Nahanni country that he visited, ". . . and that the Country also abounds in Animals for the natives to make great quantities of Provisions." It would seem that he did not make contact with the Nahanis, who preferred to remain hidden in their mountains —in his opinion, through fear of the hostile Indians of Fort Liard. Early in April he wrote to the Governor that, previous efforts having failed, he had "appointed Mr. John McLeod to command a party . . . on a voyage of discovery to the Westward."

The fair copies, in his own handwriting, of J. M. McLeod's journals of his two Nahanni explorations are preserved in the Hudson's Bay Company's Archives. The 1823 report is headed: "Occurrences of a Voyage to the Nahany Lands."

McLeod left Mackenzie's River Forks at 9 a.m. on June 5th in a north canoe. His crew consisted of two Canadians, one halfbreed as interpreter and seven Indians. The Liard River was in flood, the going was tough, and at 8 p.m. they made camp "in sight of the pine Island at the foot of the Rapids." McLeod ended the first day's struggle against the current with a glass of rum to his men and "a small quantity of very weak stuff to the Indians."

These people were accustomed to making early starts. However, with a crew consisting mostly of Indians it was useless to insist on the usual travelling hours of the Canadian voyageur; and in consequence the party did not hit the river till the late hour of 4.30 a.m. They came to the foot of the rapids at six and there they took to the track line, continuing with the line all day and camping at 8.30 p.m. a little below Cape Island.

At noon on the following day they came to an Indian camp where, to McLeod's regret, he was obliged to remain for the rest of that day and all the next, outfitting and hiring Indians for the trip and gumming his canoe. Unfortunately the number of Indians hired is not given. It would have been interesting to know in view of the amount of game the party killed and consumed.

They started again on the 9th, three Indians being sent ahead in two small canoes to hunt, and the big canoe leaving at 8 a.m. Four more Indians joined them on that day as they surged up the Long Reach towards the mountains with the help of a following wind and a

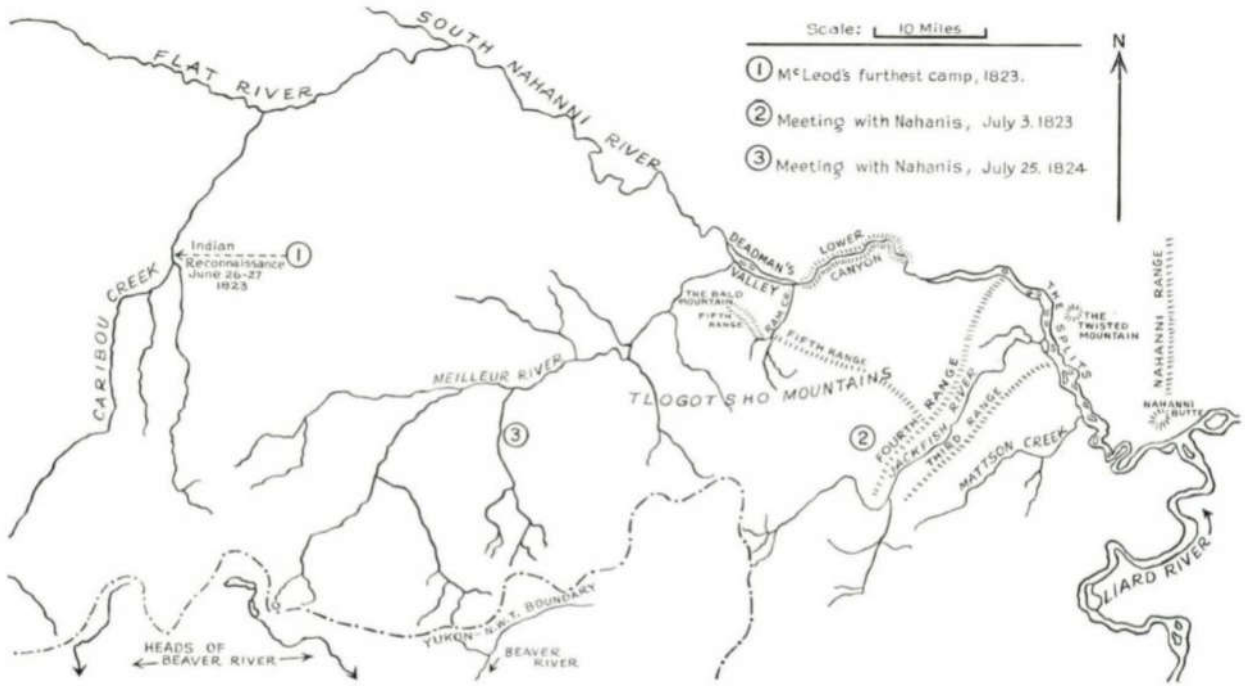
Prospector, rancher, author, Mr. Patterson has lived in the Nahanni valley and travelled the country winter and summer, first in 1927, his last visit in 1960. Photographs by the author and RCAF.

"The courses of this river is very various." The Splits of the Nahanni from above the Twisted Mountain, looking upstream. In the middle distance, left, McLeod's "Fourth range" sinks towards the river. Far beyond it is his "Fifth range," the Tlogotsho Mountains. In the distance on the right is the canyon range through which the river cuts its way.

blanket sail. This probably brought the party up to at least twenty men—possibly more. This seems a large number, but they were going into an unknown country to look for a band of Indians who might be anywhere in that tumbled wilderness of mountains. The methods they used made numbers essential: they fanned out to hunt, to light signal fires above timberline or along the Nahanni River, to look for tracks or signs of Nahani camps. They would re-unite late in the evening—or sometimes, even, days later—heading for the smoke of the main party's fire. And with the Nahanis an unknown quantity there would have been an added confidence in the presence of a large and well armed party.

Early in the afternoon of June 10th they turned into the mouth of the Nahanni and at six they made camp about five miles up that river. The 110 miles up the Liard River in flood had been dealt with in a fraction over four days travelling time. Into camp, after dark, came the hunters who had gone ahead in the light canoes; they brought in a black bear and a beaver. Other hunters had been dropped off on the Liard to cross the Nahanni Range on foot "in search of Mountain Goat." There are no goat in those parts: that is the name that McLeod uses almost throughout his diary for the *ovis dalli*, the wild white sheep of the Mackenzie Mountains. It was the meat of one of these that the hunters brought into camp the next morning.

Oppressed by thunder and a downpour that lasted all day, they started up the Nahanni—which was high and rising. Soon an Indian shot a bull moose and that was dealt with in the rain. Then they came to the end of the calm water and the desolation of The Splits faced them—drift piles and shingle bars, a driving current, whirlpools at the foot of dangerous, undercut banks. "The



Courses of this river is very various, and the Channels much obstructed by shoals and drift wood." The Nahanni was rising fast, and so a little was enough of The Splits in flood-time; they could do better on foot on dry land, and at 4 p.m. they landed to camp and cache the canoe. They stayed in that camp two nights owing to the torrential rain, and they built a platform on which to lay up the big canoe, lashing it there with the trackline. That camp was on the southwest side of the Nahanni, below the mouth of Mattson Creek.

From there, delayed at intervals by the frightful weather of the rainy season and by bad going, they struck "inland"—that is, away from the Nahanni. McLeod counts his progress by the number of ranges crossed "west of the river." A range, with him, is not necessarily what a geographer would call a mountain range: it can be anything from a mountain ridge to a true range. Once that has been appreciated, and by taking note of every small clue, McLeod's "ranges" can be sorted out and his general course established. Few landmarks are described; the diary is a record of hours travelled, the general direction, weather, events, and the game that was killed.

By the time the party had crossed the first range they were practically out of the provisions they had brought from the Forks, having had to share these with the Indians; from then onwards they depended on their guns. The hunters promised McLeod "mountain goat" about a day's march farther on and he was in no way worried. . . . Two days from there brought them to the banks of Jackfish River, which separates McLeod's third and fourth ranges; they were probably about sixteen miles up from the Nahanni. "In this river there is a sufficiency of water for North Canoes, but as far as the view could extend nothing but a constant chain of Rapids appeared to the sight." McLeod's Indians told him that where this river joined the Nahanni they usually made pine-bark canoes to run down to the Liard. . . . As the party travelled they fired a number of driftpiles along Jackfish River, "on the West side of which we encamped." The smoke of these fires, it was hoped, would be a signal to any wandering Nahanis.

Late on June 17th they gained the summit of the fifth range, by which McLeod must mean the northeastern escarpment of the Tlogotsho Mountains south of Deadmen's Valley. They travelled above timberline and camped up there; wood was scarce and a little snow came down; the first caribou appeared. The name "Tlogotsho" means "Big Prairie" and refers to the grassy, alpine country on those level summits above timberline. Seen from the air those mountains are still open and free of scrub or timber. They were probably even more open in McLeod's time since he was travelling at the coldest point of what climatologists call "The Little Ice Age." It was a time of extended glaciation and maximum rain and cold, and timberline was low. There has been a warming up since then, accelerated since 1900 and greatly accelerated since 1920. This has produced plainly visible results in the area of McLeod's travels. In Deadmen's Valley, for example, timberline is climbing fast, so that what was open moorland country in 1928—just beneath the escarpment of the Tlogotsho—is today a jungle of willow and alder and small trees. Travelling and hunting are infinitely more difficult and this change in timberline, which must be widespread, has probably affected adversely the sheep and the caribou. Changes of this nature, added to the fact that McLeod makes no reference to the magnetic variation (though he may have been instructed in this by W. F. Wentzel who was then at Mackenzie's

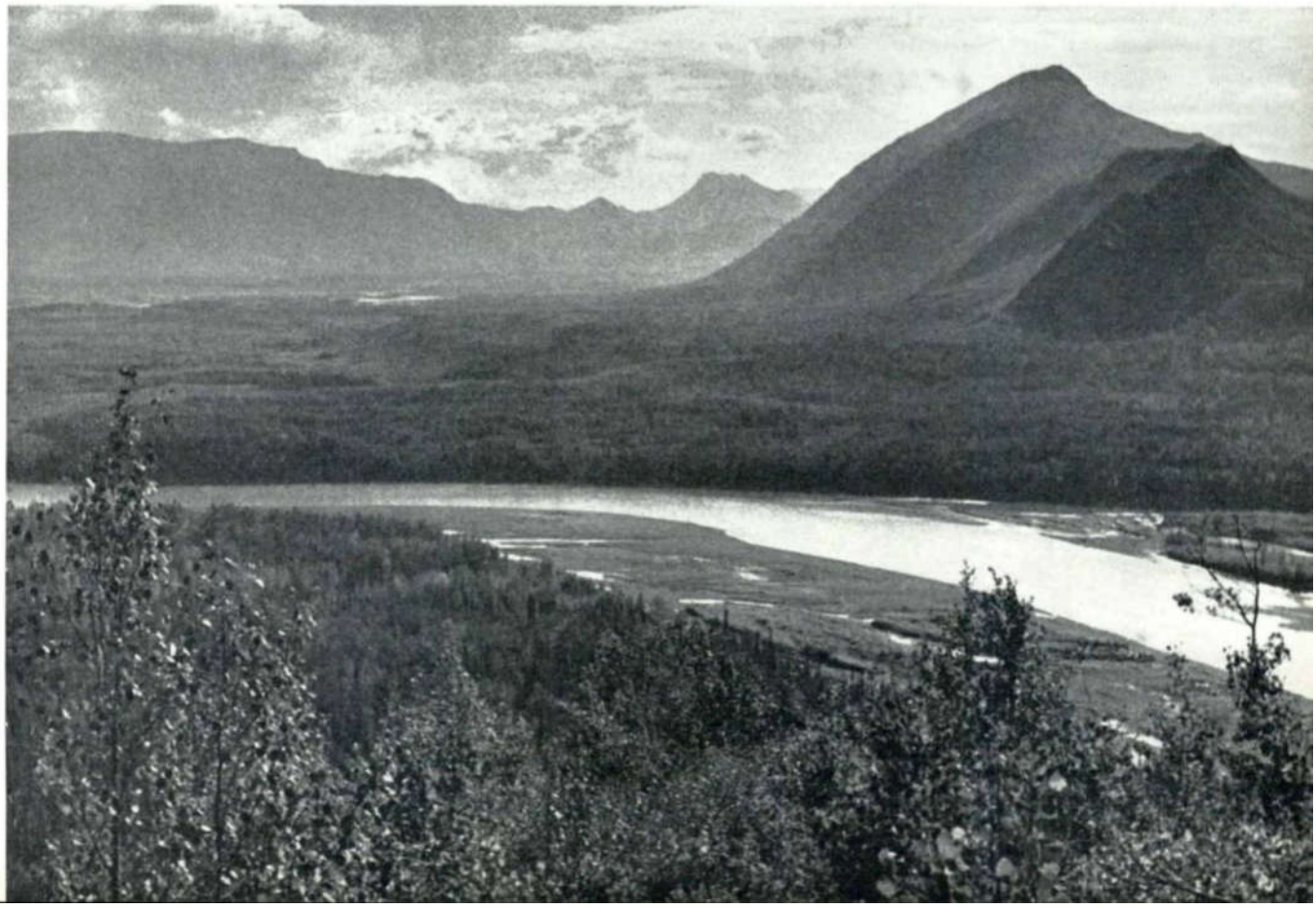
Forks and understood something of these matters) make it difficult to plot the expedition's trail in detail beyond the fifth range.

They marched onwards in a northwesterly direction, above timberline where that was possible, sometimes going hungry, sometimes feasting on sheep and caribou. They came to the Meilleur River, which flows down to Deadmen's Valley, and they crossed it and its tributary streams. (I am using the modern names, for McLeod named nothing.) Beyond the sixth range they found an early spring camp of the Nahanis and beyond the seventh range they came on an old winter camp. At this point the party was out of meat completely and some of the Indians and the interpreter were losing heart. McLeod however, was determined to go on. The game seemed to have vanished and in three days they only got one cow caribou. They swung to the southwest for a day; then for two days they headed back southeast—then west to the ninth range where they ran into caribou once more and ate their fill. All this time they were making fires on high summits, looking for tracks, watching for distant smokes.

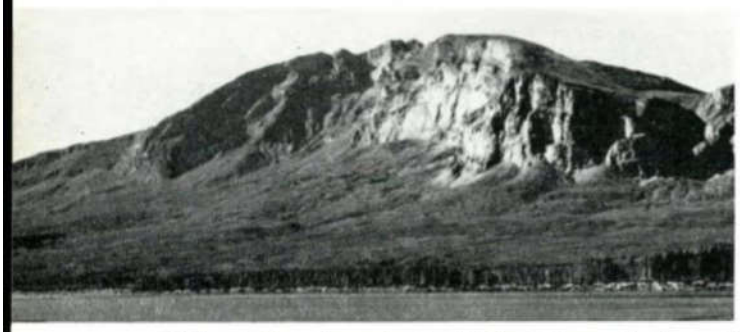
They camped west of the ninth range for several days. The Indians were sent out in various directions, and on June 27th McLeod and the interpreter climbed a mountain north of camp. They got a fine view and McLeod writes: "To the Westward I could perceive no regular ranges of mountains, altho' some parts appeared very high but much broken and detached, the valleys appeared well wooded." That description fits in exactly with the plateau type of country towards the heads of the Meilleur River and over the Yukon Territory boundary to the Beaver River—today a country of small forest, a vast number of beaver dams, and with the mountains rising above timberline in isolated masses of barren rock. This camp was McLeod's farthest into the Nahani country in either year: it was probably north of the Meilleur, for some of the Indians, returning to camp from a westerly exploration of two days duration, reported that they "fell on a River which they suppose to be the Nahany River," the current of which was swift and the banks well wooded. This was probably Caribou Creek, a tributary of the Flat River, and so of the Nahanni. . . . On his way down the mountain that evening McLeod shot three caribou. He was now convinced that the Nahanis were somewhere between this ninth range camp and the Liard.

They broke camp the next day and headed southeast. Four long days saw them back on the summit of the fourth range, marching above timberline towards the Nahanni River—and there, crossing the range in a southerly direction, they came on fresh tracks of the Nahanis. They turned and followed them, down into the valley of Jackfish River, continuing in pursuit till 9.30 p.m.

Beyond the Nahanni (flowing from right to left) on right McLeod's "Fourth range" and on left his "Third range." The valley of Jackfish River lies between.



They were on the trail again at 2.30 a.m., following up Jackfish River. Suddenly the tracks turned aside and climbed the fourth range again. McLeod's party followed and "had some difficulty in obtaining the Summit. Still the Nahany Indians make no scruple in climbing up precipices with their Women and Children, where none of my men, and very few of the Indians would venture." On reaching the summit they saw a smoke at a distance and answered it. They went on, and soon ". . . both parties approached each other very slowly. Yelling, Singing and Dancing as they advanced, at 7 P.M. both partys joined unarmed, each holding a small piece of meat in their hand—shortly after a Dance was formed, which amusement continued for the remainder of the day." The strange Indians were fourteen in number, mostly of medium size, good figure and fresh complexion. Their language was "fluent and harmonious, but they vociferate it out with such incredible force, that it is on the whole disagreeable." Two of McLeod's Indians, who had been sent out on a reconnaissance on June 30th, were found with the Nahanis. This may have helped in bringing about this amicable first meeting with the Company's men on 3rd July 1823.



Nahanni Butte from the Liard. The Indians who dropped off to hunt probably ascended by the breaks on the right.

The next day opened with the giving of presents: to the "Nahany Leader" a chief's coat and various finery; a "Half Ax, Hand Dag. Knife, Looking Glass, Small Kittle and a small piece of Red Oriell feathers—which articles he seemed to be highly satisfied." To the rest other presents were given, including firesteels and vermilion. McLeod accepted a present "of Seventeen Martins" and allowed his own Indians to trade what furs the Nahanis had—"a few Martins, some Beavers, Cats and a Bear Skin or two." McLeod urged the leader to show his trade goods to all his people. He arranged a rendezvous and signals for the following year and said he would be back with a good stock of useful articles to trade for fur.

Ram Creek, lower left, flowing north into the Nahanni, with Little Butte immediately to the right of the confluence and, downstream, the Lower Canyon of the Nahanni.

"The Nahanys," McLeod writes, "appear to be a manly race of men and good hunters, they are smart, active and quick in their motions, and are not haughty, but seem to be peaceably inclined without the appearance of fears or meanness. They are Cleanly, Hospitable and Sociable. The (White Eyes) Leader . . . is a tall strong and robust built man." He was bearded, which gave him the "looks of an old Roman Sage." From him McLeod obtained various information on the country and the tribes to the westward—eliciting the fact that most of this Nahani tribe inhabited the Upper Liard country, and that it was three winters since the chief had visited them. Towards evening the Nahanis drew off to join their families. Some of McLeod's men went with them and the night in the Nahani camp was passed in singing and dancing.

On July 5th McLeod started for home. That evening, shortly before camping time, an Indian killed six sheep and the party proceeded on its homeward way well provided with meat, arriving at Mackenzie's Forks at 8 a.m. on July 10th. On this 1823 trip McLeod and his hunters had killed 35 head of large animals—22 caribou, 9 sheep, 3 moose and a bear—besides a few odds and ends.

THE SECOND TRIP

The date of departure was 8th June 1824. "I left Fort Simpson Forks McKenzie's River in a North Canoe. My Crew consisted of one Canadian and two Half Breeds Engagés with Two Indians." Three Indians joined the party on the way up the Liard, making a total strength of nine. The current was stronger and the water higher

Little Butte, right, at the entrance to the Lower Canyon from Deadmen's Valley, a water-level view of part of the air photo, about freeze-up time. This is the quiet place on the Nahanni where, the Indians told McLeod, they sometimes crossed on rafts. Below is Cache Rapid where, the Indians said, no craft could pass.

than in 1823, and a new hazard was added in the wide canyon of the Lower Rapids: "The quantity of ice . . . along the Banks of the River made the tracking very bad and in several places the Mens lives were endangered by pieces falling down." They arrived at the Nahanni mouth at 2 p.m. on June 12th, having—as before—dropped off two Indians to cross the range "in search of Mountain Goats." They camped near the foot of Nahanni Butte and signal fires were lighted on the summit of that mountain. The famous mosquitoes of South Nahanni were on the warpath as usual: "Weather very Warm and Musquitoes worse and worse." In the night the Nahanni rose over three feet and reached the canoe and gear, carrying away some of the paddles.

They went on into The Splits, firing driftpiles on the islands. Against the June flood they "proceeded with very little progress." Eventually they swung over into the snyes, or back channels, of the southwest shore and went on until they found a good place for laying up the canoe, some distance below the mouth of Jackfish River. A "Moose Deer and two Otters" obligingly presented themselves right in camp in a downpour of rain.

At noon on June 15th they started up Jackfish River and that evening they camped on top of the fourth range, making signal fires but receiving no answering smoke. On the next day they sighted at a distance the Nahanni River below the Lower Canyon. It was there that McLeod had made a rendezvous with Indians from Willow Lake, a large lake east of the Mackenzie Mountains. But there was no sign of them so they went on, passing south of the canyon uplands and well back from the river. One Indian was detached to hunt sheep and two more to follow the river as nearly as they could and send up smokes.

The afternoon of June 18th found the party on the uplands of Deadmen's Valley. They could see the Nahanni in the distance, at a place where it was calm and slow, and where, the Indians said, they sometimes crossed on rafts. That quiet stretch of water is at the mouth of Ram Creek at the lower end of Deadmen's Valley. The Indians told McLeod that at some distance below the quiet water it was not practicable for any craft to pass—"and in My own opinion as far as I could see with my Glass. I think it not practicable in the present state of the Water, the Mountain through which the bed of the River flows being perpendicular on both sides." They were looking at the upper entrance to the Lower Canyon of the Nahanni.

Camp was high up in the Valley, close under the spurs of the Tlogotsho. Sheep and moose were in sight and they shot one of each. The mosquitoes were "as thick as the dust that flies before the Wind." Far away, beyond the mountains to the north, a smoke rose in the sky. That, they thought, could only be from the Willow Lakers, who should have met them by the river. The five Indians with McLeod now declared their fear of going in search of the Nahanis with so small a party. McLeod, as a compromise, agreed to wait in that camp till June 23rd; then, even if the Willow Lakers had not yet joined them, he would go on, alone with his men if need be. So they camped, climbing and setting their fires, hunting and gorging themselves (they shot one more moose and nine sheep), and part-drying the meat they were to carry. And on the 22nd it snowed.

On that day two Indians went to the summit of the Bald Mountain. Away in the southwest, between the fifth range (which they were on) and the seventh range they thought they could see a smoke. That was enough for McLeod and he broke camp early on June 23rd. The Indians "remonstrated for some time, but seeing that I was determined on going, they began to arrange their little bundels to follow." Towards evening, between the fifth and sixth ranges, an Indian shot two sheep. That ended the day's travel. "According to Indian custom we put up for the Night at 8 p.m.—Where all hands before a blazing fire passed a Night of festivity upon excellent Venison."

The first encounter with the Nahanis was with an isolated hunter—then with a group of four. These were given presents, each one, of knives—and one was sent ahead to inform White Eyes of McLeod's approach. The two parties met on the afternoon of June 25th, on one of the tributary streams of the Meilleur River, between the sixth and seventh ranges. The Nahanis were pleased to see McLeod and said they had been on their way to the rendezvous. McLeod was disappointed to find they had made no hunts worth mentioning—but for this they blamed privation and the severity of the winter. Questions to the leader as to the Nahani country produced little result for want of a good interpreter. McLeod then proposed to the leader to accompany him "to the Southward of the Mountains" where he hoped to find Chief Trader Murdoch McPherson and a party of Fort Liard Indians. This camp on the Meilleur was close to headwaters of the Beaver River in the Yukon Territory where McPherson was carrying out an exploration. But White Eyes would have nothing of this suggestion, nor would he let any of his people put themselves within reach of the Fort Liard Indians. However, McLeod finally prevailed on him to come with two of his family to Fort Simpson. Singing and dancing and the giving of presents rounded off the day.

The Nahanis accompanied McLeod on his homeward trail as far as the summit of the fifth range, the plan being that McLeod's party would shoot meat for all before they parted company. That splendid hunting ground of the Tlogotsho did not fail them: McLeod spotted a herd of caribou with his glass, and his Indians and the Nahanis were sent to surround them; in less than two hours they had nine. McLeod's men took a small amount of the meat and then, after the most touching farewells between the Nahanis, they went on their way, accompanied by White Eyes, his son, and his nephew.

Second thoughts speedily overcame the Nahani leader. He awoke next morning troubled with bad dreams and wished to return. McLeod reasoned with him: "assured him that his dreams would turn out quite the reverse of what he then anticipated, after some time had elapsed in Interpreting the Old Leaders dreams, with some fine words and few promisses, he with some reluctance agreed to follow, and was under way at 5.0 a.m."

The rest of the journey back to the canoe was misery itself. On the afternoon of June 28th they were caught on top of the fourth range by thunder and lightning and a blinding whirl of snow. They were forced to camp there for the rest of the day and through the night—a most wretched camp, seeking shelter "among the Crevices of the Rocks from the inclemency of the Weather, having no wood to make a fire."

Almost all of the next day they travelled along the crest of the range, coming down to Jackfish River at 7 p.m. They saw plenty of sheep but could not get at them; they went supperless to bed. "Rain and thick mist. Course: E." The last day was almost the worst. They started, empty and hungry, at 4 a.m. and at 7 p.m. they came to the Nahanni. The old chief was tired and wished to camp—but there was nothing to eat, only the pemmican cached with the canoe to hope for, so he was induced to "trudge on." The Nahanni had risen much, making the going "Misserable bad" and it took them four more hours to reach the canoe. Misfortune still had in store one parting kick; the pemmican had been "eat by the small Animals (supposed Martins)." With what feelings they fell asleep we are not told.

In the morning the Nahanis examined the canoe minutely and greatly admired it, being particularly taken with the lightness of "such a Large Vehicle." Several hours were spent in gumming and arranging the canoe, "and only was ready to throw in the Water at 1 p.m." They embarked—and the Nahani leader, finding himself afloat on the racing floodwaters, was at first much afraid, this being the first occasion for himself or any of his people. They reached the Liard at 5 p.m. and, since the night was fine, they drifted on downstream without stopping, sleeping by turns and as best they could, and arriving at Fort Simpson at 2 p.m. the following day. Shortly before arrival the Nahanis again became worried and fearful. They were calmed by McLeod, "altho for some time after entering the House, they seemed lost in astonishment and surprise."

That is the end of McLeod's second report. One might add that on this trip 34 large animals were killed and recorded—16 caribou, 15 sheep and 3 moose. Good manners forbade any interrogation of White Eyes on the day of arrival; but on the following day, July 3rd, a proper parley was held through an interpreter. The language

seemed to Wentzel, who recorded the results in the fort journal, "to be much the same as the Fort de Liard Indians, and has a strong affinity to the Beaver Indians of Peace River."

To summarize: the country was described; a plateau, well wooded and with isolated mountains, abounding in game, and in beaver and the other fur bearing animals. There were good fishing lakes, but the Nahanis were mountain Indians; they did not use canoes, nor did they make nets or secure a living from fishing.

The Nahanis would bring good hunts to Fort Simpson in the spring of 1826, coming on the crust of the snow. They would not consider going to Fort Liard; they were in dread of the Fort Liard Indians with whom they were at war—which was why they kept concealed in their mountains. The only other Indians they knew were the Dahadinnis who were many and who held all the country west of the mountains from the source of the Nahanni to the sea, where white men traded with those that were nearest to the sea—"Does not know what sea, points however to the westward."

The leader refused to draw a map of his country. The Nahanis made a small trade and were advised as to the proper dressing of skins. "Music seems to delight them and in short they were lost in wonder and admiration."

High up in Deadmen's Valley under the spurs of the Tlogotsho, the area where McLeod camped on 18 June 1824 when it snowed. This is Bald Mountain from which McLeod's Indians saw the smoke in the southwest.

The leader spoke at the end. "I am like a Child now in my own estimation, you treat us so well. That I have nothing to give makes me ashamed to speak, which is the reason I appear silent . . . all my Party and Children will be curious to come here and see what I have seen, it is the Whites who have made the Earth, we see that now."

On Sunday, July 4th, a new boat was launched and, in a high wind, McLeod sailed these wild men of the mountains over to the west shore of the Liard to start them on the long road home. They departed with their trade, forty-four pounds of provisions and some presents —"pleased and elated beyond description." ◆

Roy Anashugak of Wainwright taking a mechanical drafting course at Mount Edgecumbe High School, Sitka.

INTEGRATION IN ALASKA

BY WILLIAM J. DUCHAINE

IT was not until World War II that most Alaskan Eskimos really began to feel the impact of economic and social change. Suddenly, Alaska assumed a strategic part in the national defence picture. Construction of military bases was rushed. Labour was needed at once.

Eskimos quit ivory carving, hunting for whale and seal, and fishing for salmon and cod. They moved from their coastal villages to Anchorage, Fairbanks, and other parts of the interior to work for building contractors, at the mines, and with the Alaska Railroad, then running train after train loaded with vital war matériel.

Like other young men, Eskimos entered military service where they became acquainted with bulldozers, trucks, aeroplane motors, and other machinery and equipment. Defence projects now furnish new employment.

These sudden and drastic changes in the mode of living have been both perplexing and difficult for some Eskimos. Many have taken them in their stride, however. They have gone on to become airline pilots, mechanics, stewardesses, communications workers, legislators, postmasters, traders, preachers, teachers, accountants, stenographers, beauticians, nurses, heavy machine operators, carpenters and other artisans. Some live Outside with assembly-line jobs in industrial centres. In many fields, they are competing on even terms with non-natives.

On a Wien Airlines flight from Nome to Fairbanks, the writer sat across the aisle from a middle-aged Eskimo, attired in blue denim overalls. He smiled, indicating a desire to converse.

"I'm getting off at Kotzebue," he said. "Working there on the hospital construction job."

He pulled out his wallet and showed his card, which revealed he was Edward Barr of Kotzebue, a member of the Seattle local of the International Union of Operating Engineers.

"I used to make fifty cents an hour as a common labourer in a mine at Deering," he added. "Now, I am a heavy equipment operator and get $4.81 an hour."

When the plane landed at Alaska's second largest Eskimo village, Kotzebue, fifty miles north of the Arctic Circle, Barr pointed through the window to another

Mr. Duchaine, an American free-lance writer, made an extensive tour of Alaska last summer and fall.

Eskimo, who was approaching with a small freight truck, "That's my brother, Sam. He works for Wien Airlines."

Sam is one of a growing number of Eskimos who have found employment with various airlines. After coming out of military service, they took ex-service training in flying and aeroplane mechanics. They became bush pilots for airlines, and some saved their money to buy planes to go into the charter business on their own.

Take Jimmie Samuelson of Bethel, for instance. He operates a bush flying service out of Bethel, with more than $100,000 invested in three planes and other equipment. Also at Bethel is bush pilot James Hoffman, who serves in the state legislature.

With Wien Airlines they begin as bush pilots on small planes, advancing in due time to larger and faster multi-engine aircraft where they earn from $10,000 to $15,000 a year. Bill English, whose trader father married an Eskimo, is now a senior captain and an assistant to the chief pilot. Three other pilots are half-Eskimo and the station manager at Point Barrow is an Eskimo.

"Eskimos are getting better and better educated and more and more are fitting into the pattern of the economic and social structure," said Sigurd Wien, president and general manager of Wien Airlines at Fairbanks.

Eskimo girls have proved themselves in radio communications work. After experiencing too much turnover with imported radio operators, Wien Airlines decided to train native girls for the Point Barrow radio station. Molly Ahkavana, who was the first girl hired in 1955, is now the senior operator. She has since trained three other girls who had attended the Mount Edgecumbe Native High School and Sheldon Jackson Junior College at Sitka.

L. E. Parsons, assistant to the manager and the chief radio technician said: "An Eskimo girl will apply herself. It's possible to train her for the job in six weeks, while a non-native must have about six months. They have to learn radio and nautical language, and train their ears to static and make sense out of fragmentary messages and distorted voices."

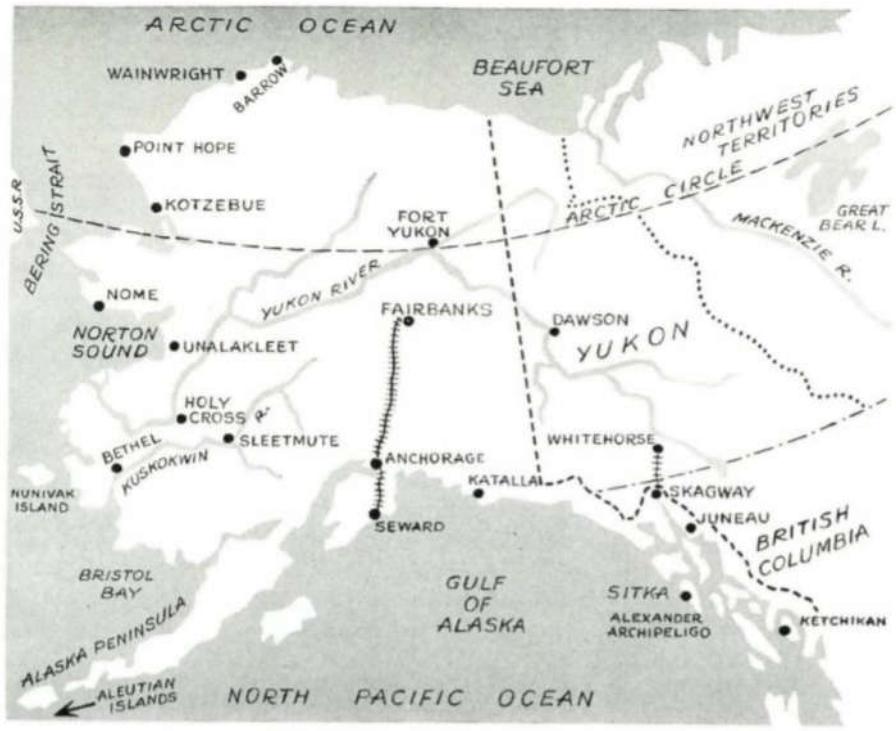
In soft but clearly enunciated voices, the Eskimo girls at "Barrow Radio" give weather reports and other vital information to navigators and pilots of the international polar flight planes, as well as national commercial, military, and civil aircraft. They have learned to understand such foreign accents as Scandinavian and Dutch but find the French most difficult.

Parsons said Molly Ahkavana has demonstrated the Eskimo's aptitude for mechanics. She can take a teletype machine apart, repair it and put it back in running order.

Alaska has a population of about 225,000. Of this number, the Bureau of Indian Affairs says approximately 16,000 are Eskimos, 14,000 Indians and 4,000 Aleuts. The largest concentration of native people in Alaska is found in the Kuskokwim River and Lower Yukon River delta regions and the Bristol Bay area where about 12,000 Eskimos live. The dividing line between the Eskimos to

Eskimo announcer and disc jockey Morgan Aukongak of Nome trained in a Chicago radio school. His father owns a large reindeer herd.

Linotype operator and shop foreman with tri-weekly newspaper "Nome Nugget" is Clinton Gray, half-Eskimo. He is a member of the City Council.



Sketch map of the State of Alaska with adjoining territory.

the south and the interior Indians, who are Athapaskans, to the north (a reversal of the Canadian situation), is the village of Holy Cross on the Yukon River and the village of Sleetmute on the Kuskokwim River. The three southeastern tribes, living in and around the Alexander Archipelago from Ketchikan to Katalla, are the Tsimshians, Haidas and Tlinkits. Aleuts live on the Alaska Peninsula and the Aleutian Islands.

The assistant area director of the Juneau office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Marvin Ripke, pointed out that Alaskan Eskimos, Indians and Aleuts are citizens of the United States. Although the BIA does perform functions designed to meet their special needs, they are not wards of the government as they were naturalized collectively by the Citizenship Act of 2 June 1924.

"The Bureau of Indian Affairs," said Ripke, "educates and trains natives to equip them for the labour market. More each year are going to colleges, universities, trade and commercial schools."

BIA operates more than eighty elementary day schools, including the farthest west American school at Atka at the tip of the Aleutian chain. In addition, BIA operates a day high school at Unalakleet, and the 660-enrolment Mount Edgecumbe high school and 255-enrolment Wrangell Institute, both boarding schools. There are plans for additional facilities at Mount Edgecumbe and another 600-enrolment boarding school at Fairbanks. Addition of the 9th and 10th grades in the large Eskimo villages like Kotzebue and Point Barrow is also contemplated.

Eskimos and other natives are encouraged by the Bureau to go beyond high school. It has a grants-in-aid program that provides from $500 to $1,000 a year for tuition, board, and room, depending on the financial circumstances. The student has to maintain a "C" average to continue college study on a grant. The State of Alaska also offers 15 four-year full scholarships at the University of Alaska.

A survey by the Juneau area office of BIA reveals that Alaskan native youths are increasingly taking advantage of their educational opportunities. In the 1955-6 school year, only 54 were enrolled at institutions of higher learning. In 1959 the number was up to 387. This figure included 63 attending the University of Alaska and community colleges, 27 at Sheldon Jackson Junior College at Sitka, 15 at the Mount Edgecumbe Practical Nursing School, 84 at Outside colleges and universities, 70 at Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, 96 at vocational schools, 30 at business colleges and 7 at schools for registered nursing.

Mount Edgecumbe is a federal medical-educational establishment located on four scenic islands that shelter Sitka from the Pacific. It was at Sitka, known to early Russian settlers as New Archangel, that the American flag replaced the Russian on 18 October 1867 after the United States purchased the 586,400 square miles for $7,200,000.

After the Alaskan territorial capital was transferred to Juneau in 1912, Sitka was just a quiet fishing village. Then, it boomed in World War II when a large naval centre, coaling station, naval air base and army fort were scenes of much activity. These properties were turned over to the United States Department of Interior after

At Mount Edgecumbe Public Health Hospital and School.

the war. In 1950, BIA added a new five-storey hospital unit to its converted army and navy hospitals. Mount Edgecumbe hospital, which was placed under the jurisdiction of the Public Health Service in 1955, has a 340-bed capacity, of which 223 are for tuberculosis, 56 for general medical and surgical, and 61 for pediatrics.

BIA operates Mount Edgecumbe high school. Both hospital and school serve Alaskan natives primarily, accepting those from areas which are not able to provide comparable services. A native is classified as one-quarter blood or more.

Mount Edgecumbe is for all practical purposes accessible only by air. The start of each school year sees an "air lift" that calls for the co-ordination of bush flights with those of the airlines. In many villages, there are no telephones so parents and children listen attentively to the radio broadcasts from Sitka, Juneau, Anchorage, Fairbanks and Nome for news of the bush plane's arrival time. Special ramps have been provided at Mount Edgecumbe to enable float planes to taxi up to the school grounds after landing on Sitka channel. Native students are also ferried by planes to the Wrangell Institute and to schools in the States.

Superintendent Robin Dean said 130 communities in Alaska send students to Mount Edgecumbe. The government pays the transportation to the school in the fall and back to their homes in late May.

The assistant area director of schools, Kenneth Crites of the Juneau office, said BIA also sends a limited number of students to the Chemawa boarding school near Portland, Oregon, and the Chilocco boarding school in Oklahoma.

"They surprise us in their ability to adjust," said Crites. "Boys and girls leaving their home for the first time to go to a boarding school must change their way of living and thinking. For many it's a drastic change, but they make a go of it."

Superintendent Dean says there has been a significant change of educational policy at Mount Edgecumbe.

"We used to try to develop the students to go directly into industry," said Dean. "But we are now strongly encouraging them to go to vocational schools after they finish at Edgecumbe."

Graduate dental technician is assistant to the public health service dentist.

Sick children receive elementary education while in the hospital.

Students of the air frame course in the school manual training department.

Eskimo and Indian students play in the Mount Edgecumbe band.

To receive a high school diploma from Mount Edgecumbe, the students must complete a minimum of 16 units of work, 10½ of which are the usually required academic subjects. Electives are vocational subjects such as commercial work, home economics, wood and metal shop, carpentry, gas and diesel mechanics.

Alaska is air-minded. It is said that Alaskans fly thirty times more per capita than other Americans. The 49th state also leads in the number of active civil aircraft—63.2 for every 10,000 persons. So, correspondingly, there is much interest at Mount Edgecumbe in the air-frame and gas and diesel engine courses.

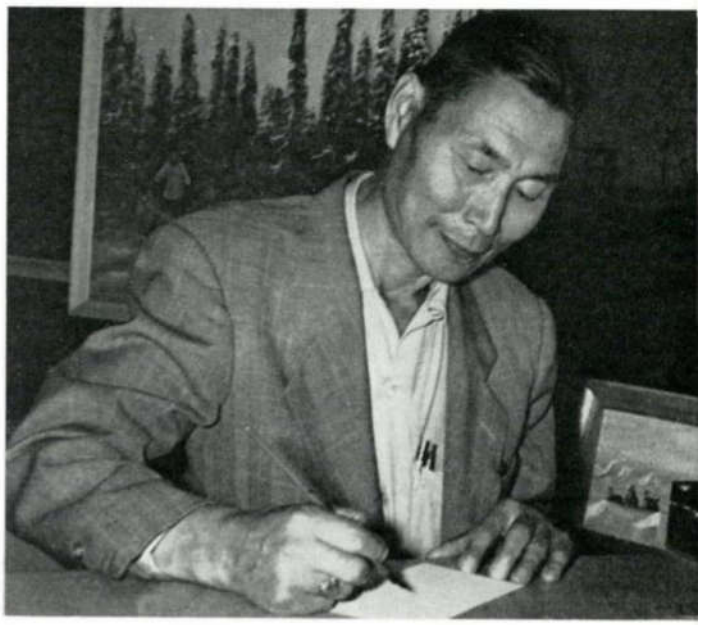
Herbert Boroughs, head of the vocational shop department, said: "Graduates of the courses in engine mechanics can regrind crankshafts, rebore engines and give a complete overhaul to automobile and boat motors. Our students are particularly interested when they are repairing engines that will return to actual service."

Courses in mechanical drawing, gas and diesel engine mechanics, air frames and power plants are a prelude for Mount Edgecumbe graduates to advanced study at technical schools in California and elsewhere. Most Eskimos have natural manual dexterity and mechanical ability. They find shop work fairly easy but some have difficulty with textbook theory.

Andrew Tooyak was eking out a bare existence hunting, fishing, and ivory carving at Point Hope, on the Arctic coast. He applied to BIA to be relocated to Denver where a sister was receiving vocational education. Andrew had only a 6th grade education at the day school in his village. He was assigned for on-the-job training at a sports shop in Denver, where he now repairs skis and snowshoes, operates a delivery truck, and does some ivory carving with walrus tusks sent to him from Point Hope. His wife and three children, ranging from six to twelve, have joined him. The Tooyaks attend Parent-Teacher Association meetings and other activities and report they are happy in their new environment. Andrew Tooyak is one of more than 600 Alaskan natives who have moved since 1957 under the BIA voluntary relocation program.

This is a two-phase program. BIA provides the transportation for a native and family to a steady year-round job either in Alaska or Outside. Field offices, located in the areas where natives are relocated, help to find housing and provide money for rent and subsistence until the man gets his first pay.

Under the second phase of the program, a native, 18 to 35 years of age, may receive two years of training in any craft for which he has aptitude and if he has the necessary basic education. This includes vocational guidance and counselling, institutional training, apprenticeships, and on-the-job training.



Artist, photographer, lecturer, Robert Mayokok now living in Anchorage has travelled widely and made one expedition with Knud Rasmussen.

Eskimos are fitting into the national defence program in Alaska. The army is screening young Eskimos for work at remote stations. Two youths are taking special electronics courses. If they complete this training satisfactorily, they will get good jobs at a DEW Line radar station. Three already are working for Federal Electric Corporation at $12,000 a year.

"The turnover at the DEW Line projects is terrific among people who come from Outside," a BIA official explained. "They don't like the rigours of the climate or the isolation. It is now realized that Eskimos can be trained for these jobs to create a stable work force at these stations."

The relocation program is completely voluntary. Of the 600 family units relocated since 1957, 20 per cent moved within Alaska. Seventy per cent are still working in their new locations. The other 30 per cent could not adapt themselves and returned to their original homes. Charles Featherstone, who is a relocation officer at Juneau, said the ratio of drop-outs within Alaska was virtually the same as Outside.

"If I were to generalize," Featherstone added, "I would say perhaps the most difficult problem for relocated natives is to learn how to live on a fixed income. To assist them there is a considerable amount of counselling by the field office staff. A social worker visits the home to help on budgeting, advise on economical buying of food and clothing, and then how to plan for paying the rent, utilities and other bills. This counselling lessens the

jolt of the change from primitive living conditions in the village to the complex life of the modern city."

Featherstone explained it is not always possible to determine how sincere a person is about wanting to move. He recalled a humorous experience when he went to explain the voluntary relocation program to an Eskimo group at Unalakleet. "After I concluded my talk, I asked them if they had any questions. They had none, but they closed the meeting by singing an Eskimo song to the tune of 'In the Sweet Bye and Bye'. I have been wondering to this day if that was their way of telling me how they felt about relocation."

Eskimos also have done well in business. They own and operate forty-five mercantile stores set up in the villages with government loans. About a half million dollars has been loaned to these private enterprises in amounts up to $20,000. Borrowers are given twenty years to pay at interest rates ranging from one to four per cent depending on the terms of the loans.

Alaskan Eskimos Mr. and Mrs. Chester Seveck and Dorcas Brower in Hollywood for movie roles. In summer the Sevecks direct tourist entertainment at Kotzebue.

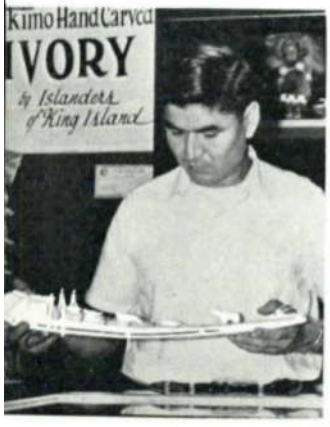
Blanket toss for Capt. Steele of submarine "Seadragon" last September by King Island Eskimos in Nome to carve ivory for tourists.

Some Eskimos are in the reindeer business. The Presbyterian missionary and educator, Dr. Sheldon Jackson, was instrumental in bringing reindeer from Siberia to Alaska at the turn of the century. Only natives may own reindeer. About fifteen herds, totalling more than 20,000 reindeer, are owned by Eskimos, who slaughter a certain percentage each year for commercial meat and for the hides used for clothing. BIA will start an Eskimo in the reindeer business by lending him about 800 head and requiring that he repay the loan with a similar number of deer in five years.

Eskimos are avid radio listeners. The mission-operated Nome station, which broadcasts in English and Eskimo, received 937 letters in a month, mostly requesting musical selections. It may carry news items of wide interest like the interview with Captain George Steele when the nuclear submarine *Seadragon* visited Nome after completing its under-ice cruise through the Northwest Passage.

All these things have affected the Eskimos. The Reverend Raoul Amundsen of the Evangelical Covenant Church, who has spent much time with the young people in his religious and educational work, sums it up.

"More and more," he said, "Eskimos are getting dissatisfied with living like their forefathers did. More are going to college and trade schools each year. If given half a chance, they'll find a place in modern society." ◆



In Fairbanks, Ralph Perdue, an Indian, runs gift shop and watch repair service; he studied at university in Illinois. Mary Fate is an Eskimo clerk in an airline office.

NORTHERN BOOKS

NORTHWEST BY SEA
by Ernest S. Dodge

Oxford University Press, New York, 1961. xiv, 348 pages. Maps. $6.50

Reviewed by L. H. Neatby

THIS excellent book is a compendium of journeys made into the North American Arctic and adjoining waters, from the first voyage of the Cabots to the recent cruise of Commander Calvert in the U.S.S. *Skate*. Mr. Dodge has performed the difficult feat of achieving encyclopaedic completeness without any sacrifice of liveliness and page-to-page interest. He crowds his canvas without blurring the individuality of those who make it up. All the great pioneers are here, from Frobisher through Hudson and Baffin to Franklin and Amundsen, and minor figures such as Hawkeridge and Weymouth appear also, not as names only, but as living and active toilers. The author combines vividness with economy through his knack of selecting those significant details which illuminate an entire episode. Nor, despite its popular style, is his work superficial: it represents painstaking research, and clearly sets forth the circumstances and promoters of every expedition. No one, desiring a complete and lucid summary of North American polar history, can ask for anything better than this.

Mr. Dodge commits the occasional inexactitude. For instance Back was mate, not lieutenant, on the *Trent*, and on the 1850-51 Austin expedition McClintock was not commander of the *Intrepid* but first lieutenant of the *Assistance*. Once at least he commits the fault, a grave one in an author of his quality, of sacrificing accuracy to sensation. Foxe and James, he informs us, "settled once and for all the question of the existence of a navigable passage from Hudson Bay into the Pacific." And yet as he reveals in later chapters Arthur Dobbs promoted several voyages in Hudson Bay without achieving a solution of the problem which Foxe and James were supposed to have settled forever, and the ghost of the westward channel out of the Bay was only laid by Sir Edward Parry in 1821.

The author tells his story directly and does not try to startle his readers with any striking revision of the facts he records. He does, however, dwell on the career of Sir John Ross, and apparently leans to the view recently set forth by Farley Mowat (with the weighty backing of Mr. Andrew Taylor (*Ordeal by Ice*, p. 237)) that that tough old eccentric has not been fairly dealt with by the historians. Certainly Ross merits a modern re-appraisal, but this should not take the form of any palliation of his unlucky mistake in Lancaster Sound. By attempting to do so Mr. Dodge only makes matters worse for his client. In the Sound, he says, "Ross seems to have had the good sailor's shyness of land." Lancaster Sound is wider than the English Channel, and a sailor who is shy there belongs nowhere but in a space-ship. Certainly he ought not to accept a commission involving hydrographic research.

The book is got up in an attractive manner that is quite in keeping with its contents. Inside-cover there is an excellent map of the area, worthy of the letterpress in that it is comprehensive without loss of clarity. The notes are first rate and the bibliography superb: the best informed will find some items of interest in it. However one misses William Gibson's "Sir John Franklin's Last Voyage" (*The Beaver*, June 1937), which is a 'must' for the proper understanding of that episode.

Mr. Dodge exceeds the limits set by his title by including some notice of the early English and Dutch adventurers in the Russian Arctic, and for this his readers owe him nothing but thanks. His book is probably the best available for the novice in the field, and all can read it with entertainment and profit.

Dr. Neatby, professor of classics at Acadia University, is the author of "In Quest of the North West Passage."

FUR TRADER'S STORY
by J. W. Anderson

Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1961. 245 pages, illus. $5.00

Reviewed by Clifford Wilson

IN Canadian literature today, the Northern Expert has become a familiar figure. He (or she) is generally a person who spends a couple of years in the Arctic—and often much less—and is so intrigued by its novelty that he feels a great urge to tell the world of his personal impressions. In due course, if he can write well enough, a book appears, liberaly sprinkled with errors and with suggestions as to how things could be improved up there. And another authority on the subject is born.

What a refreshing change it is, after a long diet of this half-cooked fare, to turn to the well seasoned authenticity of *Fur Trader's Story*, written by a man who began his life work in the North over fifty years ago, and whose reputation is synonymous with dependability.

For here is the true North, pictured by a man who lived in the forests around James Bay and far into its hinterland in the second decade of this century, when the Indians were still uninfluenced by the changes brought on by the Great War. And when he writes about them, what very different people they turn out to be from the Indians of popular conception. From the sociological point of view, perhaps the most interesting and valuable part of the book is the four chapters where he describes life at Mistassini post in the interior of Quebec. His Indians were hardworking, reliable, cheerful, and honest. Whether in camp at the post, or on the river or winter trail, they daily recited family prayers, and held Christian services among themselves every Sunday. Yet they had not entirely deserted the beliefs of their ancestors, and still held the traditional seances of "shaking the wigwam" which the author, in common with many other white men since Champlain's day, found surprisingly eerie.

Mr. Anderson describes the daily life of these Indians in detail, drawing on the great store of knowledge acquired during his years of travelling and living among them at this isolated post—what they ate, what they wore, how they travelled in winter and summer, how they trapped and hunted, made their canoes, toboggans, and snowshoes, and how they traded with the white man who was their friend—in short how they lived much as their primitive ancestors had lived, simply and frugally, but with the trade goods of the white men to make their hard existence easier and more enjoyable

Just as the author spent the greater part of his fur trader's life among the Indians, so is the greater part of this book devoted to his James Bay district experiences, from his apprenticeship beginning in 1910 to the end of his managership of that district in 1937. His business trips were often made in the big 30-foot canoes up and down the turbulent Rupert's River, across lakes large and small with their connecting portages, or on snowshoes for many a weary mile. He travelled in York boats along the west coast of James Bay; and in 1922 he saw the coming of the first aeroplane to Albany post (founded in 1679.) He even

chronicles the winter chase of an Indian criminal by the first R.C.M.Policeman in James Bay, who arrived at Moose Factory in 1926, and who was wounded by the culprit's gunfire before he could make the arrest.

In 1937 Mr. Anderson was appointed manager of the Ungava District in the Eastern Arctic and went north on the R.M.S. *Nascopie*. It is with this famous old ship that his name will always be associated in the minds of more recent northerners and long-time readers of this magazine. Every summer he travelled north with her to inspect his far-flung posts, and he was on board in 1947 when she sank in Hudson Strait.

In this new field of the fur trade he saw the changes wrought in the Eskimo way of life by World War II, just as he had seen the changes in the Indian way of life brought on by World War I; and he makes the sage remark that "the optimum period in the relationships of any primitive people with the white man is the period during which the native has just enough of the white man's products to ease the *burden* of life without disturbing his *way* of life."

"J.W." as he is affectionately known by scores of friends within and without the H B C retired with laurels in 1958. Dr. Lorne Pierce, for many years editor of the Ryerson Press, made him promise to write a book on his experiences, and this is the happy result. Moreover, a delightful and appreciative introduction has been written by one of Mr. Anderson's former arctic clerks—the present Lord Tweedsmuir.

Clifford Wilson, assistant director of the National Museum of Canada, is well known to "Beaver" readers as its former editor.

ESKIMO SCULPTURE
by Jorgen Meldgaard

Methuen, London 1960. Ryerson Press, Toronto. 48 pages. Illus. $3.00

Reviewed by George Swinton

THIS book is delightfully and intelligently written. As a popular introduction to the subject, it not only brings a lot of information in amazingly few pages—with the information being well selected and well organized—but, best of all, the little book is highly readable and it fills an important gap in the growing popular literature on Eskimo art. This certainly is the best book presently available in English.

In only 32 pages of text the reader gets a concise look at the Eskimo and Eskimo culture in general; at the philosophic content (if any) and the aesthetic nature of Eskimo art; at the main four phases of prehistoric sculpture—the Okvik culture of ca. 300 B.C. to 100 A.D., the Ipiutak culture (the most highly developed in terms of skills) from ca. 0 to 500 A.D., the Dorset culture about 700 B.C. to 1300 A.D., and the Thule culture from about 1200 to 1700 A.D.; we then get a fast look at Eskimo sculpture in historical times, particularly at the Alaska and the Greenland Angmassalik Eskimo of the 19th century; and finally the sculpture of the Greenland and North American Eskimo in "modern" times is discussed, thank goodness, without sentimentality.

Then there are 75 good half-tone photographs on 20 pages of coated stock, besides the numerous line-cut illustrations in the text, and finally there are eight pages of notes and bibliography.

Now, this is no mean publishing achievement; yet in spite of this book being concise, informative and readable, there are several points—mostly mere shortcomings rather than errors—which prevent the book from becoming as good as it easily could have become.

I do not wish to consider the several orthographic mistakes which can be overcome in a future edition through better proof reading. The same applies to the not too judiciously selected bibliography.

A more serious mistake is the make-up of the book itself. There are a great many references to the plates which can only be reached by tiresome leafing back and forth. And even, if and when, one wishes to enjoy the plates by themselves, they have been so completely separated from their notes and titles, that still further searching and looking back and forth are required. While I realize that such separation reduces the publishing expenses of the book, I fear that it reduces even more the usefulness of the book in relating visual and written material.

Furthermore, I regret the absence of at least one general map (if not of more detailed maps and charts showing the locations and movements of the various cultures discussed). I doubt very much if many people who will read this book (except for scholars and explorers for whom, surely, it was *not* written) will have maps at home (or even available in libraries) where they would be able to find many of the specific locations referred to in the text! This shortcoming could have easily been remedied within the text or by means of endpapers.

Finally, while the archaeological information is concise and accurate, archaeologist Meldgaard's opinions on art, though interesting, are on less secure grounds. Nevertheless, I have found them stimulating enough to make me reconsider some of mine! Needless to say, I enjoyed the book.

Professor of art at the University of Manitoba, George Swinton is a keen collector of Eskimo sculpture.

THE WHITE ROAD
A Survey of Polar Exploration
by L. P. Kirwan

Hollis & Carter, London; Palm Publishers, Montreal. 1959. x, 374 pages, illus. maps. $6.00.

Reviewed by Andrew Taylor

FROM the pen of the Director and Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society comes a book which the publishers claim to be the first complete survey of its kind covering both Arctic and Antarctic exploration. The author, Mr. L. P. Kirwan, claims to have largely confined his interest to "the evolution of polar exploration in its historical and social context . . . and . . . the motives and impulses—economic, strategic, personal and political—which have given rise to polar exploration." The publishers' claim is contentious, and the author's success in achieving his aim could be considered limited. The text deals mainly with the geographical achievements of explorers, in a strongly nationalistic light—English where possible, and British where necessary. Had the author's high intentions been realized, this book could have been an important contribution in the field of polar literature.

Mr. Kirwan undertook a difficult task when he attempted "to weave Arctic and Antarctic into one continuous story." The two regions have little in common but high latitudes a world apart; the most common factor of their exploration is chronology. Occasional names of ships and men occur throughout the history of discovery of both regions—e.g., the *Erebus* and *Terror* among the vessels, and Cook, J. C. Ross, Crozier, M'Cormick and Byrd of the men—bipolar names. National pride of discovery has been the most sustained common motive, but to a more limited extent, the Northwest Passage in the Arctic, and much more recent whaling interests in the Antarctic, have provided commercial motives for their exploration.

The main fabric upon which any story of exploration of the two regions must be developed is the chronological sequence of discovery expeditions, and this the author has mainly used. However, the unity which such chronology might have contributed is strained as the account wanders from pole to pole. But for two of the earlier chapters, the author made

these breaks by chapters. Towards the end of the book, the problem of classifying the material evidently became too complex, and the reader is taken from one end of the earth to the other, almost with each passing page. Such kaleidoscopic transitions become extremely disconcerting.

The White Road seems featured with a multiplicity of errors of fact quite astounding for having emanated into print from a source so near the Royal Geographical Society. Some errors are obviously clerical, as the account of Cook crossing the Antarctic Circle "in the *longitude* of 66° 36′ 30″ *South*." Elsewhere, in dealing with Mawson's Antarctic journey (p. 303), the text reads that the father of Dr. Xavier Mertz had been surgeon with Nares' Arctic Expedition of 1875, whereas, it was the father of Mawson's other companion (B. E. S. Ninnis) who had been with Nares. However, since the book's proofs were read by Dr. Brian Roberts, of the Scott Polar Research Institute, such slips in the Antarctic material may be assumed to be of rare occurrence, and this review will be confined to that fraction of the north which refers to the Canadian Arctic — a minor part of the contents.

In the beginning, the author refers to Viking discoveries, mentioning their visits to Baffin Island, Nova Scotia, and Maryland. The discovery of ancient cairns (believed to be Norse in origin) along the east coasts of Ellesmere Island is not mentioned, nor are the eider duck shelters of similar origin, which Sverdrup found in the west end of Jones Sound. Since these refer to a period characterized by an exasperating paucity of knowledge concerning the movement of the Vikings through the North American Arctic, they are of more commanding interest in this field than are the Viking exploits in Nova Scotia and Maryland.

Samuel Purchas did not choose to publish the map which William Baffin had provided him to depict the latter's discoveries in Baffin Bay, and the original was subsequently lost; this indeed was a great and costly misfortune. However, the rich heritage of marine discovery which Purchas chronicled and bequeathed to history stands as a monument to the man's industry. No one can rightly attribute the loss of Baffin's map to the indolence of Purchas, as the author charges.

We might go on and point out that Jens Munck did not winter "where the town of Churchill now stands"; that Middleton's ship was the *Furnace*, not the *Furness;* that the author attributes the change in Franklin's instructions directing him to consider exploring "Parry's unprobed Wellington Channel" to Ross on one page, and to Parry a few pages later; that Ommanney discovered the first relics of the Franklin expedition, not De Haven; that the book completely ignores the important discoveries of Inglefield in Smith Sound; that Nares only took one of his ships to the shores of the Arctic Ocean, as the *Discovery* wintered in Lady Franklin Bay; that the two references to 'Croker Land' of Peary should read Crocker Land; and so on.

However, we shall confine ourselves yet further, and deal here with some errors which occur in treating with just three of the many expeditions which have visited the Canadian Arctic — Parry, Sverdrup, and Stefansson.

Parry did not name the sound west of Wellington Channel after Sir John Barrow—Barrow Strait. He was most explicit in defining this name as "the magnificent opening through which our passage had been effected from Baffin Bay to Wellington Channel," and on his map, he restricted it to that portion of the sound east of Prince Regent Inlet. On the same page (p. 87) the author has Parry's men frolicking with Eskimos they met on the coast of Melville Island—a completely imaginary situation, though one which those lusty salts would doubtless have embraced with considerable alacrity. In Parry's entrance to Lancaster Sound, the author compares the low coast of Devon Island with the snow-covered mountains of northernmost Baffin Island. By contrast, Parry referred to the striking similarity of the coast of North Baffin and South Devon Islands. Devon Island here presents a high coast, largely formed of cliffs 1500 to 2000 feet above sea level.

The author gives the impression that Sverdrup sailed the *Fram* through the maze of channels developed by his discoveries in the Sverdrup Islands, whereas, the *Fram* was mainly based in Jones Sound, and only passed through Cardigan Strait briefly into the waters to the north. Sverdrup's discoveries were mainly made by sledging parties. There is also a confusing comparison of Sverdrup and John Ross . . . "to have brought ship and crew . . . safely through four consecutive polar winters . . .". Ross did not bring his ship through in his miraculous escape from his four winters in Prince Regent Inlet; and Sverdrup lost several of his men before completion of his work.

On the Canadian Arctic Expedition, the author appears to be particularly poorly versed. Wilkins was not Stefansson's second-in-command on this expedition, but Dr. R. M. Anderson, of Ottawa. Neither did Wilkins accompany Stefansson on his long sledge journeys over the Beaufort Sea, although he did do considerable sledging over the ice covered channels between the islands. Stefansson did not travel eastward from Point Barrow to the mouth of the Coppermine to start his sledge journey over the sea ice, which began from Barter Island; incidentally, the Beaufort Sea is not northeast of the mouth of the Coppermine, but northwest. It is extremely improbable that Stefansson was able to "check some of [Dr. F. A.] Cook's claims on the ground," since Cook is not even mentioned in Stefansson's heavy volume *The Friendly Arctic* which documents in great detail the activities of the Canadian Arctic Expedition. Stefansson's attention to the discrepancies in Cook's account resulted in his rare volume entitled *The Problem of Meighen Island*, printed in 1939, in which he developed his analysis of Cook's narrative account of the latter's travels along the west coast of Axel Heiberg Island, and showed fairly conclusively that parts of the account were fabricated.

The maps used to illustrate the volume are up to the usual high standard associated with the Royal Geographical Society. Front and back endpapers show outline maps of the north and south polar regions. The inset map inside the cover shows the eastern Queen Elizabeth Islands, including "Amund I." for Amund Ringnes Island. None of the maps (and only one place in the text) show the name "Queen Elizabeth Islands," now in use for five years. The folded map facing p. 86, showing the central part of the Canadian Arctic Archipelago, has evidently been executed with great care, but is drawn from an old base map.

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Aerial photographs revealed nearly ten years ago the outline of these intricate coasts, and we now have greatly improved maps over those made by the Franklin Searchers a century ago, on which the coast of northwestern Bathurst Island here, for instance, is based.

This review has been largely confined to that fraction of the book which concerns the Canadian Arctic. We may trust that the sections of *The White Road* beyond Canada are better, for it is not a reference volume as it stands.

Dr. Taylor, geographer, surveyor and engineer, author, has extensive experience of the Arctic and the Antarctic and has done much research on the Canadian Arctic.

INDIAN DAYS ON THE WESTERN PRAIRIES

by Marius Barbeau

Bulletin No. 163, Anthropological Series No. 46, National Museum of Canada, 1960. Queen's Printer, Ottawa. 234 pages. Illus. $4.00.

Reviewed by Hugh A. Dempsey

THIS book consists primarily of Dr. Barbeau's interviews during a field trip among the Stony Indians of Alberta in 1926. As such, it contains useful information which will add materially to the knowledge of this tribe and of other Indians in the region.

However, *Indian Days* is more than that. It is filled with interesting examples of Plains Indian pictographs, chapters reprinted from Dr. Barbeau's earlier book *Indian Days in the Rockies*, and miscellaneous interviews and notes from Cree and white informants. As such, it is rather a hodge-podge of ethnology, with all of the subjects being worthy of individual attention, but providing little or no cohesion within the covers of a single book.

The illustrations are delightful. With one or two exceptions they originate from United States tribes and have no bearing upon the text of the book. But, in themselves they form an interesting collection of primitive art, showing battles, hunting scenes, camps, and other aspects of Plains Indian life.

The Stony field notes, however, provide the real contribution. They give first hand accounts of battles with the Blackfoot, hunting incidents, tales of prominent leaders, and other useful historical and ethnological information. The Hudson's Bay Co. posts at Edmonton (*Tito'nga*, the big house) and Rocky Mountain House (*Tichia*, the old house) also come in for their share of attention. It is just unfortunate that the data were not correlated with existing information, particularly a large proportion dealing with the early sedentary period or the years immediately prior to it.

There are interesting accounts of the last Blood-Stony battle which took place on the Highwood River in November 1888. This is mentioned extensively in Mounted Police records and newspapers of the day. Like the officials of the period, Dr. Barbeau has been unable to determine whether the battle was a hoax or a reality.

The Stony vocabulary, obtained by Miss Anna Barker in 1883-86, is also a worthwhile contribution. This is probably the first extensive Stony word list to be published and complements the unpublished lists at Ottawa University and the Glenbow Foundation, Calgary.

Mr. Dempsey of the Glenbow Foundation, Calgary, is the editor of the Alberta Historical Review.

FUR TRADE GOVERNOR

by J. W. Chalmers

Institute of Applied Art Ltd., Edmonton, Alta. 1960.

190 pages, illus. $4.00

Reviewed by Shirlee A. Smith

FUR Trade Governor opens with a scene from Simpson's *Journal of Occurrences in the Athabasca Department*, published by the Hudson's Bay Record Society, and the following three chapters are based on the same book. These are the closing years of the North West Company's operations, 1820-1821, and are a very good introduction to George Simpson's initiation to the fur trade.

This reviewer picked up Mr. Chalmer's book with great interest thinking that, on the centenary of Sir George's death, here would be a serious study of the Overseas Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. Unfortunately it appears that no original research has been done.

Chapters VII, VIII, and IX are based on *Fur Trade and Empire—George Simpson's Journal of 1824-1825*, edited by Frederick Merk, 1931. The chapters deal with an inspection trip made by Simpson from York Factory to Fort George, in what is now the State of Oregon, and back to York Factory. Simpson's handling of the Oregon Territories is not too well known, so it is pleasant to see this material included in the book.

One of the most delightful chapters is Frances Simpson's trip. Here is a more intimate look at the Simpsons. Mrs. Simpson married the Governor in London in 1830 and spent her honeymoon travelling by canoe from Lachine to York Factory. She had a discerning eye, evident in her description of an Indian, "The Chief . . . was dressed in a short Coat of blue cloth, and scarlet cloth Stockings worked with different colored Beads—very large rings in his ears, a silver ornament suspended from his nose, and an immense crooked Knife stuck in a leathern girdle round his waist, his feet bare." Simpson's reputation as a furious traveller is well-known and the presence of his bride did not impede his progress. On May 3rd, Mrs. Simpson wrote, "Arose at 2 A.M. with aching bones occasioned by the dampness and hardness of my couch. . . . The Canoes were then laden and we embarked at 3 o'clock." The general reader would probably have liked to have seen more of this diary in the book, as there has been great interest in it, since it was first published in *The Beaver* in 1954.

There are a few errors in the book: Page 98, "The Old North Westers Fort Gilbralter (sic) rebuilt in 1882 and rechristened Fort Garry. . . ." The Fort was rebuilt and renamed Fort Garry in 1822, and a new Fort Garry was started in 1835. Page 174: "In 1846 the United States and Great Britain signed a treaty. . . . At one stroke of the pen, the Company lost the Oregon Territory. . . . No longer did Snake River expeditions outfit at Fort Vancouver. . . . The Company's post was closed. . . ." Actually, Fort Vancouver was not closed until 1860, and the Company closed its last American post in the Old Oregon Territories in 1871.

The book, however, is easy to read, although it cannot be classified as a serious historical work. Librarians and the general reader will undoubtedly welcome this book on Simpson, as A. S. Morton's biography, *Sir George Simpson*, published in 1944, has been out of print for some time.

Mrs. Smith is librarian at Hudson's Bay House.

GENERAL ASHLEY, THE OVERLAND TRAIL AND SOUTH PASS

by Donald McKay Frost

Barre *Gazette*, Barre, Massachusetts, 1960. 149 pages. $5.00.

Reviewed by George F. G. Stanley

THIS book is divided into two parts. In the first (reprinted from the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*) the author traces the early exploration of and the development of the fur trade along the Missouri, touching briefly upon the expedition of Lewis and Clark, the founding of the Missouri Fur Company by Manuel Lisa, the activities of Lisa's partner, Andrew Henry, the journeys of Wilson Hunt and Robert Stuart (partners of John Jacob Astor in

his Astoria enterprise) and others. His main concern is with General William Ashley and those who were associated with him, men like Major Henry, Daniel Potts, and Jedediah Smith, who, after being driven from the upper Missouri by hostile Indians, explored and garnered furs in the Green River valley and pioneered the North and South Platte River routes to the upper waters of the Colorado. It was here, incidentally, that they met and purchased furs from a group of deserters from Peter Skene Ogden's men of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Ashley and his men were not the first to explore the Rocky Mountains or to cross the continent. That had been done several times since Mackenzie had made his crossing in 1793, before Ashley arrived on the scene. The contribution made by Ashley was that he and his associates established the route later known as the Overland Route or the Oregon Trail which was used successively by the Oregon immigrants, the Mormons, and the gold seekers on their way to California.

The second part of the book contains several letters written in 1826 and 1827 by Daniel Potts and published in *The Gazette and Daily Advertiser* of Philadelphia in those years, and various newspaper clippings (advertisements, news items and letters) covering the years 1822 to 1830, relating to the Ashley journeys.

The book contains a large map and an index.

Professor Stanley is head of the department of history at the Royal Military College, Kingston.

CANADA 1960

The Queen's Printer, Ottawa
320 pages. $1.00

THE perennial Handbook is out again, providing a good, quick survey of Canada, historically and economically, embellished copiously with photographs, many in colour. With a useful map, an attractive cover, a mass of information, an index, and well-written summarizing articles, it is well worth anybody's dollar. It starts with a survey of Canada in transition in the first 60 years of this century, stressing settlement of the prairies and the importance of the prairie economy in linking and stimulating development to the east and west of Canada, and the later change from primary production to industrialization. Discovery and geography of the land are concisely and effectively treated, and the following sections deal with people, government, resources, and industry. A good sign, in language and in appreciation, is the switch from "cultural relationships" to "the arts in Canada."

WHOOP-UP COUNTRY

by Paul F. Sharp

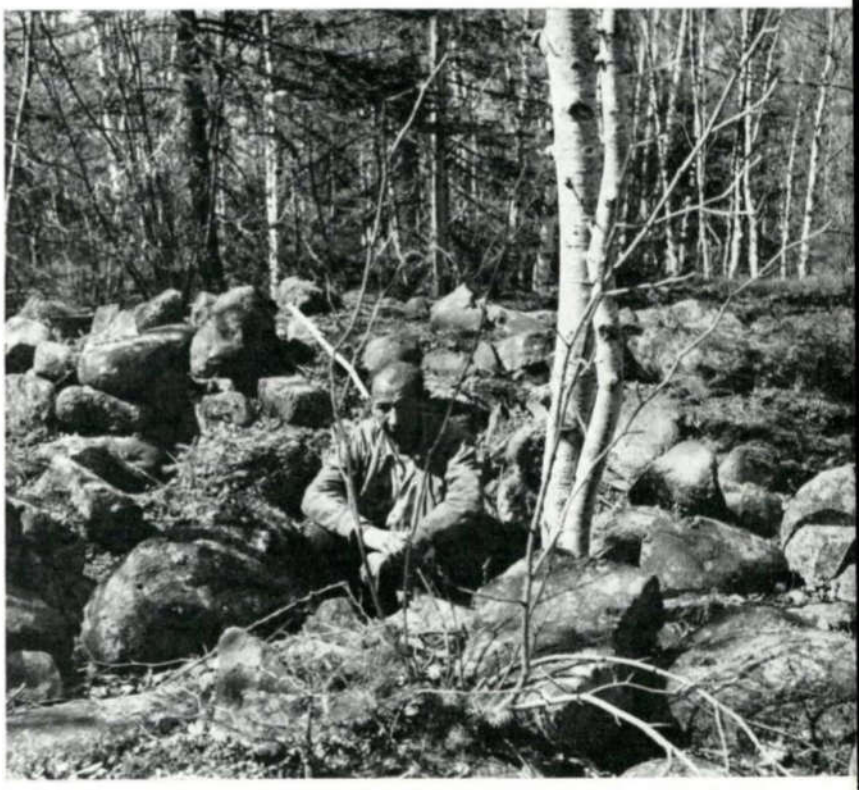
Historical Society of Montana,
Helena. 1960. 347 pages. Illus.
$6.50

Reviewed by Hugh A. Dempsey

ORIGINALLY published under the same title by the University of Minnesota Press in 1955, *Whoop-Up Country* has come out in a fine new edition. Although the text remains the same, it is brightened with the illustrations of Charlie Russell, the cowboy artist.

Sharp's book is a useful contribution and deserves republication. It is the first book of any importance which has removed the lurid tales of the whisky trading era from the field of "local" history. For too many years Forts Whoop-Up, Standoff, Slideout and the other American posts in southern Alberta were completely ignored by historians or written off as unimportant. The author, however, shows the great effect the brief period from 1869 to 1874 had on the whole development of western Canada. The events made it clear that the Hudson's Bay Company was no longer the sole dominating factor in the west; that the Canadian Government had an immediate responsibility in the lands it had so recently acquired; and one direct result was the formation of the Northwest Mounted Police.

Well written, fully documented and fairly objective, *Whoop-Up Country* gives a good picture of the chaotic transition of Canada's prairies from the fur trade to settlement.



Stone-ringed pits found above Lake Superior north shore puzzle archaeologists. They may have been prehistoric dwellings, hunting blinds, fortifications, places where youths fasted in quest of visions. The Ojibwa in this one said it was an ambush built against invading Sioux who were all killed.

THE ARCTIC INSTITUTE OF NORTH AMERICA

Technical Papers recently published and available from the Institute, 3485 University Street, Montreal 2, P.Q., at $2 each are:

No. 4. The Relationship of the Peary and Barren Ground Caribou.
by T. H. Manning. 52 pages, tables and figures.

No. 5. Marine Infaunal Benthos in Arctic North America.
by Derek V. Ellis. 53 pages, tables and figures.

North Shore Scenes

For two hundred years the road joining east and west in Canada lay at the foot of the wave-lashed cliffs of the north shore of Lake Superior—four hundred miles of vigorous paddling for the canoes of fur traders and explorers. Now a highway (completed last year) has been carved along the north shore enabling the motorized voyageur to skirt the Canadian shore of the vast lake. Along the way, by waters once rich in trout and whitefish, he will pass fishery, mining, and paper mill towns; he may glimpse tranquil islands of Ojibwa legend, brooding rock masses where the Indians propitiated the spirits for passage over the waters, Battle Island lighthouse said to be the site of a battle between Sioux and Ojibwa, reminder of white men's battles in the barbed wire of a prisoner of war camp, and unnamed graves of the early trading post at Pays Plat.

BY JOHN MACFIE

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